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ABSTRACT

This publication is intended to provide readers with a broad perspective on education in Israel, based on the findings of participants in a two-week study mission to Israel. Part 1 consists of 17 short reports on various topics related to Israeli education. The majority of these reports deal with educational planning, policy, evaluation, and research; other reports focus on community and parent involvement, language policy, Arab education, instructional television, Sephardic-Ashkenazi differences, and women's status. Part 2 contains 18 brief reports by members of the study group on selected site visits in Israel and meetings with Israeli government officials and educational leaders. A copy of the study group's itinerary is also included. (Author/JG)

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THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

IMPRESSIONS OF EDUCATION IN ISRAEL

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THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
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IMPRESSIONS OF EDUCATION IN ISRAEL

A Report of the Educational Staff Seminar Study Mission
February 13-29, 1976
Edited by Judith Reed

IMPRESSIONS OF EDUCATION IN ISRAEL

Report of the Educational Staff Seminar Study Mission
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE FROM THE DIRECTOR OF IEL....................i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS....................ii
INTRODUCTION....................iii
ITINERARY....................vii

PART I: SPECIAL INTEREST REPORTS

*EDUCATION

Educational Planning
Barry Stern and W. Phillips Rockefeller......1

Educational Policy Formulation
Michael H. Annison....................8

Educational Research
Paul E. Cawein....................12

Educational Evaluation
Bert Mogin....................16

Israel's System of Evaluating Schools
Ruth W. Crowley....................17

Language Policy and Education
Dorothy Waggoner....................20

Vocational Education
Dorothy Shuler....................25

Community Involvement
Susan Wiener....................28

Parent Involvement in Early Childhood
Education Among Disadvantaged Groups
Judith Reed....................32

Arab Education
David B. Orr....................41

Instructional Television
Arthur S. Kirschenbaum....................48

Availability, Use and Copywriting of Educational Materials
Morton W. Bachrach 51

Education Costs for Parents
Stephen M. Kraut 54

*HEALTH SERVICES

Tipat Halav: Background and Administrative Overview
Alice Hersh 55

Linking Families to Health Services: Toward a program that Works
Wendy Lazarus 60

*SOCIAL ISSUES

A Future Perspective on the Sephardic-Ashkenazi Differences
Harley Frankel 66

Some Aspects of Women's Status
Miriam Carliner 69

PART II: SELECTED SITE VISITS AND MEETINGS

Department of Linguistics, Bar Ilan University 78
Meeting with Arie Fink, Chief, Rehabilitation Branch, Ministry of Defense 79
Beit Halokhem, "Warriors' House" 83
Briefing prior to visit to Jules Army Base 86
Ne'urim Youth Village-Hadassah 89
Oranim, Kibbutzim State College 91
University of Haifa 94
Arab Community Center, Village of Tamra 96
Kiryat Eliezer, Ulpan for new immigrants 99
Meeting with Hon. Shalom Levin, Member of the Knesset and Secretary, Israel Teachers' Union 100
Denmark Comprehensive School, Katamon, Jerusalem 102
Meeting with Dr. Chanan Rapaport, Director, Henrietta Szold Institute 104
Visit to the School of Education, Hebrew University 105

Meeting with Hon. Elad Peled, Director-General, Ministry of Education and Culture....108
Comprehensive High School "D", Beersheba....112
Meeting with Dr. Eliezer D. Jaffe, School of Social Work, Hebrew University, Jerusalem....114
Central Statistical Office, Jerusalem....117
Meeting with Hon. Eliezer Shmueli, Deputy Director-General, Ministry of Education and Culture....119

APPENDIXES

List of Participants on ESS Study Mission to Israel....A-1

Description of the Educational Staff Seminar....A-3

PREFACE FROM THE DIRECTOR OF IEL

As one who believes passionately in the importance of continuing adult education and inservice professional development, I express my appreciation to the participants in the 1976 ESS study mission to Israel. This report of your educational visit once again provides convincing evidence that overseas travel-study is meaningful to federal policy aides and that it is possible for well-motivated travelers to learn a great deal in a foreign culture, even if one's time is short and the attractions many.

When ESS began its series of overseas study missions in 1971, there were the inevitable cynics who labeled them "junkets" and "boondoggles." Over time, these field trips have proven themselves invaluable in stimulating federal education officials to think more deeply about the meaning and purposes of education, about the trade-offs implicit in various types of educational structures and programs, about governmental and societal responsibility to promote educational change. Moreoever, we have seen how the intensity of ESS field trips enables members of the federal education establishment to develop new and better ways of communication among themselves, a benefit which remains long after the study mission has ended.

It was good for me, personally, to lead this third study mission to Israel. I made new friends among my fellow Washingtonians, found new respect for Israel's educational leaders, and gained new admiration for the dedicated nation-building which surrounded us everywhere we traveled from Dan to Beersheba. So, to the people of ESS and to the people of Israel: "Todah Rabbah--Thank you!"

Samuel Halperin

Samuel Halperin
Director, Institute for
Educational Leadership

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people and organizations combined to make our study mission to Israel an effective and memorable one. While this acknowledgement cannot fully discharge our debt to them, we offer a hearty "Todah Rabbah!" (Thank you!) to:

OUR HOSTS AND PROGRAM ARRANGERS IN ISRAEL--

Honorable Eliezer Shmueli, Deputy Director General,
Ministry of Education and Culture

Ms. Lydia Aflalo,
Office of Foreign Relations,
Ministry of Education and Culture

OUR ISRAELI MENTORS WHO ASSISTED US
IN PLANNING OUR ITINERARY--

Professors Moshe and Sara Smilansky
Tel Aviv University

Dr. David Harman, Hebrew University

OUR FRIENDLY AND EFFECTIVE TOUR AGENTS--

Dov Sarid, Diesenhaus Travel, Tel Aviv

Dan Tagger, Canaan Tours, New York

OUR DEPENDABLE AIRLINE AND ITS ESPECIALLY
HELPFUL LOCAL REPRESENTATIVES--

El Al Israel Airlines--Margalit Tetro & Eytan Dlugin, Washington

OUR "WOMAN IN ISRAEL" WHO MADE MANY SUPERB PROGRAMMATIC
ARRANGEMENTS--

Hadassah Yuval of Petach Tikvah

OUR INCOMPARABLE GUIDE!--Dov Friedman

OUR SKILLFUL AND KNOWLEDGEABLE DRIVER--Zvika Savransky

And to all the wonderful people of Israel who took time from their busy schedules, who met with us individually or in groups, who showed us their schools and spoke to us about their programs and their vision, a special thank you. We are very grateful.

And, finally, to Samuel Halperin, whose knowledge and love of Israel combined to make our trip a unique educational experience.

INTRODUCTION

We were in one of several workshops conducted at 'Jules army base, where young men attend general education classes and learn a trade, prior to their induction into the army. The boys in this shop, most of whom would not otherwise have qualified later for the army or who would not have been eligible for skilled jobs during their service, were learning how to upholster and repair furniture. The Colonel guiding us introduced us to the instructor, an elderly man, and confided: "He is like a father to them." The instructor smiled and said: "Why shouldn't I be like a father to them? It's the only way to be if you want to help them. See," he continued, pointing proudly to one boy, "when he came here, he knew nothing. Now he has a career!" The young man, the instructor and the Colonel all smiled happily.

The same pride and concern was evident when the director of an agricultural boarding high school talked with us, explaining how more than half of the school's budget of 5 million Israeli lirot was raised by income to the school through the crops raised by the students--including olives, cotton, oranges and beets. These boys and girls, generally from deprived areas and often from families with six or seven children, were learning agricultural work and also "how to make decisions, how to participate in democracy." By their fourth year, the director told us, "they are menshen" (mature, responsible).

The importance of education was emphasized in another setting when the speaker, this one from a kibbutz, explained: "We decided, at a time when we didn't have enough to eat, that every child would graduate from high school." (High school is neither compulsory nor free in Israel; the kibbutzim maintain their own educational system and virtually all of their children do complete high school).

We were visiting a university. Invited to lunch, we were told it would be held in an unusual setting--the guest dining room, painted in light blue and orange, was a bomb shelter, a type of structure we were to see over and over again, often being put to use to serve many happier functions. We saw one, for example, on the grounds of an elementary school near Tel Aviv, where social events are held, one in a classroom building at the Hadassah Ne'urim Youth Village, where a language laboratory has movable equipment so that the air raid shelter can accommodate all students in the building, if necessary. We saw another one adjacent to a children's house on a kibbutz, where the staircase walls leading down to the shelter are lined with children's drawings and the metal cots, two-tiered, are ready. In the northern development town of Kiryat Shmona, we saw shelters and also the "security rooms" which have been built onto each apartment and are now used as sleeping rooms for the children. (It was in this town that Arab terrorists crossed over from the nearby Lebanese border in 1974, killing 18 people, including 12 children and youth).

Other reminders of the constant tension under which Israelis live and work were the guarded fences that bordered all schools, nurseries and buildings in which children study, play or are cared for--all mandatory since the massacre at Maalot--and the frequency with which the military obligations of our hosts were mentioned, to explain interruptions in professional work. For example, in answer to a question, we were told that only women were employed as community workers in one social service program under discussion since male workers would have to leave the community for part of the year for military duty, thus breaking the continuity of their efforts. (After their term of national service, Israeli men and childless women are in the Reserves until the ages of 55 and 34 respectively).

Nevertheless, the major impressions gained during our visit to Israel were ones of hope and confidence in the future, and of dedication to serving the needs of all students. Equally impressive was the strong sense of commitment and concern and the deep involvement encountered among all those we met.

As educators on a tour of educational institutions in Israel we learned much about the problems, programs and needs of the country, and about the major role education played in helping meet them. We didn't become experts on education in Israel in two and a half weeks of intensive observation of schools and universities, of visits to communities and discussions with government officials, teachers and students. But we did gain an insight into the growth of a nation, its problems and triumphs, its dedication and dreams.

We saw programs that sharpened our understanding of some of America's programs and problems. For instance, we saw how Israeli teachers and social workers were applying what they had learned, sometimes from us, about helping disadvantaged children and their families, and a great deal about the incredible task of integrating a society composed of people from so many cultures.

"They flew 2,000 miles and 200 years!" is how the flight of one group of Jews from Africa to Israel was described to us. In all, there are 140 ethnic groups among the Jewish population alone in Israel and addressing the educational, economic and social gaps that still persist between those of Western or Ashkenazi ancestry and those of Oriental or Sephardic ancestry (those from Asia and North Africa) was the focus of many of the educational programs we visited and the subject of intense discussion with educators from the preschool through the university level.

We visited five of the seven universities in this country of 3½ million people and learned about research directions and educational planning for the future. We toured comprehensive high schools and boarding schools, looked at academic and some vocational programs and learned about a variety of health and rehabilitative services.

Driving to visit an elementary school outside of Tel Aviv, we passed the 50-year-old religious community of Bnai Brak, whose street signs show the ancient tablets of the Torah. These were pointed out to us only seconds before we observed the latest in solar reflectors on house roofs, which heat water for their occupants.

We saw other old communities and new development towns, visited the synagogue at Capernaum, built in the Galilee during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and the Shalom Tower in Tel Aviv, now the tallest building between Milan and Tokyo, all offering contrasts that illustrate the layers of history and peoples whose legacy permeates the nation--a background that cannot be separated from the educational aspects of Israel any more than it can from other aspects of the country today.

Our educational study tour, then, did indeed teach us much about education in Israel and stimulate new thoughts and perspectives about the role of education in general and about specific programs both there and in the United States.

A third benefit of the trip was the opportunity it afforded individual members of a diverse group to learn more about other aspects of education than those with which they were usually concerned. As can be seen in the range of subjects covered in this volume, the special interests in our group ranged from early childhood, bilingual and vocational education to educational planning and research at the university level. Each of us benefitted from the chance to hear the concerns of others, as expressed in their questions during our site visits, and to discuss these concerns and issues with them. Becoming more knowledgeable about our colleagues' work was a fourth benefit, one that should foster enhanced communication among us back in the federal government.

Of the individual interest reports which form the first section of this volume, the majority deal with educational planning, policy, evaluation and research. Community and parent involvement, language policy, Arab education and instructional television are other subjects covered. Two reports deal with health services and two with social issues, including perspectives on Sephardic-Ashkenazi differences and women's status.

The reports on selected site visits and meetings with government officials and leaders in education cover a wide variety of subjects. Together with the longer reports, they give the reader some indication of the broad range of experience and insight offered participants in this 1976 study mission to Israel.

—Judith Reed, editor

EDUCATIONAL STAFF SEMINAR

ITINERARY: ISRAEL STUDY MISSION
February 13-29, 1976

February 13, Friday	Arrival at Ben-Gurion International Airport; transfer to City Hotel, Tel Aviv, for lodging next 6 days
February 14, Saturday	Optional tours: Sinai, Eilat, St. Catherine's Monastery-- Evening: Tour of Old City of Yaffo
February 15, Sunday 9:00	Group A--Ministry of Health--Overview of health services (joint programs of Ministries of Education and Welfare) at Petach Tikvah Subdistrict Health Office (31 Ahad Ha'am); Dr. Zeno Feldman, Officer of Health and Director, and Mrs. Arela Elishuv, Assistant Chief Nurse Group B--Neve Oz--Overview of everyday life and services in a well-functioning community, with Mrs. Hadassah Yuval Visit local school and social institutions, Mrs. Hanah Gilat, Principal
11:15	Bar-Ilan University (a) Tour of Bar-Ilan Campus with Mrs. Chana Lesser, Assistant to the Director of Public Relations (b) Luncheon with Dr. Milon Sprecher, Rector; Prof. Arnold Enker, Dean; Yaakov Herzog, Law Faculty; Moshe Gitterman, Professor of Physics; Meir Loewenberg, Professor of Social Work; Dr. Josef Reif, Senior Lecturer in the English Department and Hebrew Language Department; Dr. Josef Lichtenstein, Director of Research; David Altman, Assistant to the Director-General; Bar-Ilan students and staff (c) Background discussion and field trip to disadvantaged Schumat Hatikvah community, organized by Prof. Meir Loewenberg and Prof. Benjamin Yanoo, School of Social Work
February 16, Monday 9:00	Group A--Visit Yad Syngalovsky Technical Center of ORT, (Rehov Tayassim 28) with Haim Giron, Principal Group B--Visit to community center baby care center; vocational courses, group therapy for disadvantaged mothers and Agricultural School-Kanot, with Women's Histadrut Federation of Labour leader, Mrs. Yehoved Amir, and E. Tzur, Headmaster of Kanot

9:00	Group C—Bar-Ilan University, with Dr. Joseph Reif, Department of Linguistics, Hebrew Ulpan for new immigrants; English as a second language; Mr. Sidney Kelman, basic language program, and Mrs. Thea Reves, Supervisor, Ministry of Education
11:00	Group A1—Meeting with head of Rehabilitation Services, Ministry of Defence, Arie Fink
1:00	Group A2—Meeting with Head of Vocational Guidance and Job Placement, Ministry of Defence, Mr. Sam Abudbul
1:00	Group A—Visit to Bet Halohem—Rehabilitation Services
5:30	Meeting with Haviva Avigai, head of the Legal Department, Women's Federation of Labour, "Women's Rights Issues, Labor Law, etc."
8:00	Meeting with Dr. Nehama Nir, Director of Early Childhood Education, Ministry of Education and Culture
February 17, Tuesday	
9:00	Group A—Instructional Television Center (14, Klausner Street, Ramat Aviv) with Yaakov Lorberbaum, Director of Programming
8:45	Group B—Bar-Ilan University with Dr. A. Ziderman on "Educational Planning and Budgeting"
8:45	Group C—Workshop for Brain Injured with Dr. Shlomo Kravitz, Department of Psychology, Bar-Ilan University
	Group D—Officers' class at Bet Ha-Chayal (Soldier's House), with Mrs. Hadassah Yuval, instructor
11:00	Tel Aviv University; meeting with Yoel Yadir, Public Relations; Bezalel Zaritsky, Director, Technical College of Tel Aviv University; meeting and luncheon with Dr. Itzhak Kashti, School of Education
afternoon	Sightseeing and individual site visits, Tel Aviv area
7:30	Meeting with Avraham Frank, Jewish Agency Absorption Department for New Immigrants; round-table discussion with new immigrants from U.S. and U.S.S.R.
February 18, Wednesday	Day with Israel Defence Forces—Zahal. Subject: Special programs for Educationally Disadvantaged Soldiers
8:30-9:30	Briefing at City Hotel—Colonel Shlomo Lev

11:00	Visit Jules Army Base: Pre-military, work education program; 3-year industrial trade school; special program for educationally disadvantaged soldiers, with "Col. Gershon"
February 19, Thursday	
9:30	Neurim, Youth Village (agricultural school) with Shmuel Frazin, Director of Workshops Travel via Afuleh, Galilee, Tiberias and Huleh to
lodging	Kibbutz Kfar Giladi Guest House
February 20, Friday	
8:00	Visit Tel Hai Museum
10:00	Visit Bet Edelstein Community Center (Rehov Herzl), Kiryat Shmonah (border development town), with Rafi Amram, Director Overview of absorption of immigrants and social problems.
afternoon	Visit Kiryat Shmonah, Tel Dan National Park, Metulla.
Lodging	Kibbutz Ayelet Hashahar Guest House
evening	Slide presentation: "Life in a Kibbutz" and discussion of kibbutz education with Ruth Dothan
February 21-22, Saturday and Sunday	Tour of Golan Heights, visits to Ein Gev, Banias, approaches to Mt. Hermon, boat ride on Sea of Galilee (Kinneret), tour of Tiberias area Evenings at Ayelet Hashahar Guest House
February 23, Monday	
9:30	Visit Oranim, Kibbutzim State College, with Dr. Moshe Giladi, Director
11:30	Luncheon and visit—University of Haifa with members of School of Education: a) Curriculum Development, b) Teacher Training Program, c) Arab Education, d) Adult and Continuing Education Yosef Schwartz, Director, School of Education; Chanan Brin, Center for Curriculum Development; Dr. Moshe Giladi, Oranim, Kibbutzim State College; Dr. Yosef Goldstein, Center for Educational Administration and Chief Inspector of Education—Haifa Region, Ministry of Education and Culture; Dr. Eitan Israeli, Adult Education; Dr. Sami Mari, Director of Center for Research and Development in Arab Education; Dr. Moshe Rinott, Comparative Education.

4:30	Visit Arab Community Center, Village of Tamra, with Munir Di'Av, Center Director
lodging	Haifa—Nof Hotel
February 24, Tuesday	
9:00	Kiryat Eliezer—Ulpan for new immigrants, with Mrs. T'hia Avivi, Principal
11:00	Sightseeing—Haifa area: Bahai, Carmelite Monastery, travel to Jerusalem via Caesaria
5:00	Knesset (Parliament), with Hon. Shalom Levin, Member of Knesset and Secretary, Israel Teachers' Union
lodging	Jerusalem—Moriah Hotel
February 25, Wednesday	
8:30	Group A—Meeting with Dr. Chanan Rapaport, Director, Henrietta Szold Institute, National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences (9 Colombia Street, Kiryat Menachem) Group B—Visit Denmark Comprehensive School, with Mrs. Hedva Ish-Shalom, Principal (Yehudah Hanasi Street) Group C—Meeting with Aryeh Kreisler, Ministry of Social Welfare (11 David Hamelech)
11:00	Meeting with Prof. Chaim Adler, Avraham Minkovich, and Mrs. Jane Cohen, School of Education, Hebrew University, Mt. Scopus Campus
1:30	Knesset—Hon. Avraham Katz, Chairman, Education Committee of the Knesset
4:00	Meeting with David Ben-Dov, Acting Director, North American Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
7:00	Meeting with Hon. Elad Peled, Director-General, Ministry of Education and Culture
8:30	Discussion with Yitzhak Rosenblum, Jerusalem Director of "Heled", gifted children's program
evening	Hotel Moriah, Jerusalem
February 26, Thursday	
7:00	Depart Jerusalem for Beersheba, via Bethlehem, Hebron
8:00	Beduin market of Beersheba
9:30	Comprehensive High School "D" (Dalet) with Zion Soreq, Principal; meeting with faculty and students
12:00	Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, with Mrs. Rina Marks, Department of Public Relations Luncheon with Dr. Walter Ackerman, Director, School of Education Visit Desert Research Institute and Palmach Memorial

February 27-28, Friday and Saturday	Depart Beersheba, via Arad, for ascent (by cable car) to Masada. Tour of Dead Sea, Jericho, return to Jerusalem and Western Wall. (Hotel Moriah). Tour Bethlehem, Old City holy places, etc.
evening	Discussion with Prof. Mordecai Abir, Department of Middle East Studies, Hebrew University: "Middle East Realities: Current and Potential"
February 29, Sunday	
8:30	Tree planting in John F. Kennedy Forest, tour Chagall windows of Hadassah Medical Center, Yad Vashem--Heroes' and Martyrs' Remembrance Authority, Holyland Hotel model of The Second Temple, Israel Museum, Shrine of the Book, etc.
4:00	Tour President's House (Bet Hanasi)
5:30	Meeting with Dr. Eliezer D. Jaffe, Senior Lecturer in Social Work, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (at Paul Baerwald School of Social Work)
7:00	Farewell dinner and discussion with Hon. Eliezer Shmueli, Deputy Director-General, Ministry of Education and Culture
March 1, Monday	Depart from Ben-Gurion International Airport for 8:00 am N.Y.C.

* * *

In addition to scheduled group visits, ESS participants undertook a large number of individualized visits. For example, Alice Hersh and Wendy Lazarus explored their interests in Israeli health programs for young children with:

> Mrs. Zipora Noy, Tipat Halav nurse, Bat Yam; Dr. Peretz, Director of Public Health Services, Jerusalem; Hannah Lasker Hauser, Health Department, Tel Aviv; Gardena Avner, Tipat Halav nurse, Jerusalem; Zviya Arnon, Tipat Halav nurse, Neve Shaanan; Dr. Kalir, Director, Mother and Child Health Services, Ministry of Health, Jerusalem.

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

Barry Stern and W. Phillips Rockefeller

Decisions about education in Israel generally do not result from long-term planning. Instead, most educational decisions are based on the particular national need of the moment. Ideology and values play a much stronger role in the decision-making process than does consideration of the sorts of manpower and educational data that are usually used for planning. Educational planning in Israel occurs in a disaggregated manner within certain educational sectors—e.g., within the primary school sector, vocational high school sector, or teacher training sector—but planning which cuts across these sectors is almost non-existent.

From the Israeli point of view, the achievement of a fair degree of success with ad-hoc decision-making and improvisation, compared to previous efforts to plan, justifies the current reluctance to develop and depend upon a more formalized data-based planning process. Planners have been more wrong than right, and the rapid changes in Israel's political, military, and economic situations make long-term planning somewhat of a luxury. Immigration or alyiah, for example, makes unpredictable contributions to the manpower situation, as does the largely unpredictable emigration. The nation's uncertainty about its military security directly impacts upon the educational budget, and education officials are never sure of what kind of budget they will have from one year to the next.

In addition to the above uncertainties, another obstacle to effective planning is an uncertain data base. The Ministries of Labor and Education both collect statistics on manpower demand and supply, yet frequently their data are different. One observer commented that the heretofore excellent quality of the manpower statistics department of the Ministry of Labor is deteriorating, while the data collection activities of the still small educational planning office of the Ministry of Education are improving.

Postsecondary Manpower Development—Some Problems

Despite some very good reasons for an anti-planning bias, some manpower-related problems are emerging now which might well require planning to avert even greater problems. The basic issue concerns the size and cost of maintaining the university population in relation to the nation's manpower needs at this particular time. Although most university graduates are finding employment in fields requiring university training, mid-level manpower shortages still prevail, particularly in defense-related industries. As in the U.S., professionals (like engineers) frequently must do sub-professional work because there are too few technicians and other mid-level trained people who would normally do this work. Evidence of this is that specialized technicians frequently receive higher salaries than the professionals with whom they work, and technicians from abroad (e.g., in the avionics field) are recruited to fill posts for which there are no qualified Israelis. Despite a number of excellent schools developed by the Ministry of Defense to train such technical manpower, Israelis who might qualify to enter such training frequently reject it in favor of preparing themselves in universities to be professionals. Possibly one of the reasons for this year's planned 17% decrease in the higher education budget, in addition to the need to devote more of the nation's resources to defense, is to make university entrance more problematic while encouraging more preparation in technical fields among those who would normally attend the university.

With the proliferation and expansion of universities in Israel during the late 1960s, an outside observer would have expected that there would now be an oversupply of college graduates, particularly among those majoring in the humanities and social sciences. The prognosis of increasing unemployment and under-employment among liberal arts graduates, a high proportion of whom are women, has failed to materialize (96% of them are working) mainly because they appear on the labor market not as new workers, but as ones who have already worked full- or part-time during their studies. Fully 90% of these graduates worked while at the university and at least half had full-time jobs. Were it not for this situation, Israel would be faced with the problem of having to absorb each year more than 1,000 graduates who are basically non-professionals and who lack work experience.

If and when an oversupply of university graduates becomes evident, it is likely that many of the surplus graduates will turn to secondary school teaching. At present there is a shortage of qualified teachers at this level, one which is expected to remain for three to five years. One author predicted in 1961 that secondary school teaching would become an occupational stepping stone for men of Sephardic origin, much as teaching became a stepping stone for Jews and other ethnic minorities in the United States. This prediction did not appear to come true until 1975, when it became clear that an increasing proportion of high school teachers and principals came from Sephardic backgrounds. As Israel becomes more successful in getting a higher proportion of Sephardic Jews to matriculate into the university (only 8% of Jews from this background now pass the matriculation exam compared to 32% of those of Ashkenazi heritage), there will be a larger pool from which to draw for secondary school teaching.

Israel's military situation could well determine the future employment outlook for university graduates. So long as the country remains at a high level of military preparedness and mobilization, so many university graduates will not be needed. If, however, the Mid-East political situation between Israel and her neighbors were to stabilize and Israel were able to devote more energy to economic development, the need for university-trained manpower would probably increase, given Israel's propensity to develop knowledge-intensive industries.

Indeed, it can be observed even now that the high price of military preparedness includes loss of strength and momentum in the general economy and chronic lack of manpower, investment capital and modern production techniques. Rampant inflation and creeping devaluation of the Israeli pound compound the economic picture. Skilled managerial and technical leadership is required to avoid further deterioration of the situation.

Given Israel's unstable economic and political situation and the resulting uncertainty about appropriate future employment which attends university enrollment, it would appear that flexible, broad university preparation would be preferred over narrow specialization. The opposite is the case. The Israeli college graduate is perhaps better prepared in his specialty than his counterpart in the United States, but he is less well-versed in liberal arts subjects. Possibly, a change to a broader, more flexible university preparation is indicated when economic conditions are so severe and manpower needs are changing so fast.

Another planning problem at the postsecondary level is the over-enrollment in agricultural schools. An increasingly mechanized and automated form of agriculture has made many of the skills taught in these schools obsolete. Furthermore, the number of students enrolled appears to be far in excess of what the agricultural industry will be able to absorb, again largely because of the technological advances in farm mechanization. The agriculture schools, nonetheless, seem to maintain their appropriations because of their previous contributions to Israel's development and hence their symbolic significance to the country. Apparently, many government officials believe the socialization value of attending such "back-to-the-land" institutions outweighs the problem of producing many graduates who will not be able to find agricultural jobs. The tradition of manual or agricultural labor in the Kibbutz movement and other Aliyah pioneers of the 20th century has perhaps assured this status, which is without parallel in the United States.

Vocational and Technical Education - A Matter of National Survival

While many of the above problems indicate recognition of the fact that insufficient attention had been paid to planning at the postsecondary level, much more satisfaction is expressed by officials with the linkages formed between secondary schooling and the nation's manpower demands. The 1960s, especially, witnessed a tremendous expansion and qualitative improvement of vocational and technical education. More than half of today's high school students are vocational or technical students. Despite the fact that a higher proportion of such students come from Sephardic backgrounds while a majority of academic high school students are from European or Ashkenazi backgrounds, vocational education enjoys respectability in all sectors of Israel's society. To this historical consideration must be added the very real economic value of such training: vocational and technical school graduates are very much in demand by the military as well as by industry, and their wages tend to be better than those of academic school graduates who do not proceed directly to college. There is no doubt, furthermore, that the prestige of blue-collar work has risen with the fortunes and power of the trade union movement--namely the Histadrut--which has won considerable benefits for Israeli workers. While many white collar workers belong to Histadrut, almost all of the blue-collar workers do, giving them the dominant voice in union affairs.

Another factor supporting the national focus on vocational education is the extensive foreign philanthropic investment in vocational education schools and facilities. The availability of well-equipped comprehensive high schools, technical institutes and vocational schools attests in major part to the contributions of ORT and various other Jewish agencies and donors in America and elsewhere.

There is, finally, the defense imperative of contemporary Israel, especially since the bitter impact of the Yom Kippur War in 1973 and the subsequent massive military expansion of Arab nations. These events have revealed to Israeli planners and citizens a growing need for trained manpower to produce or operate sophisticated weaponry, and to increase Israel's qualitative advantage over the armed forces of hostile neighbors. Planners say the demand for these graduates is unlikely to diminish, given the country's tremendous shortage of technical manpower. If these skills shortages were to disappear some day, and vocational graduates had difficulty in finding appropriate work with the commensurate wages, viz. the situation in the United States, it is unlikely that vocational schools would maintain their current level of prestige.

Not all planning is geared to economic or military considerations. In Israel, especially, the resolution of social problems, particularly those related to the absorption of newcomers, is a strategic national concern. First and foremost, of course, is the problem of integrating the "two Israels"—Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews. Not only are there economic and technological knowledge gaps between those groups, but there are socio-cultural differences as well which complicate the situation. Then there are the problems of integrating "old-time" immigrants and new immigrants, as well as immigrants of varying backgrounds with native-born Israelis. Finally, there is the problem of relationships between the Arab citizens (and other ethnic or religious minorities) and the predominant Jewish population. This latter problem is complicated by the fact that 80% of the Arab population lives in rural areas and maintains a way of life that differs markedly from that of urban dwellers and even of rural Jews, and by the ceaseless external Arab appeals to Israeli Arab citizens to support the cause of Arab brothers in opposing the nation of Israel.

The responses of the educational system in dealing with the problem of social integration are described in detail elsewhere in this report. Generally, the strategy for integration is two-pronged: first to assure that educational opportunity is not stifled by economic disadvantagement and, second, to assure that all Israeli school children learn Hebrew. The country is much less certain about what to do about social and cultural differences. The present mood seems to be shifting away from prior attempts at assimilation (on the Ashkenazi model) and toward greater recognition of cultural pluralism. This desire to maintain and respect separate religious and cultural traditions and practices was expressed as a policy of the Ministry of Education and Culture by Eliezer Shmueli, Deputy Director-General of the Ministry, during our discussions with him in Jerusalem.

A related problem for educators is to assure quality of educational opportunity, given the huge number of linguistic, ethnic, religious, and cultural groups and the different values placed on schooling by these groups. Ashkenazi-dominated communities, which also tend to be the most affluent, place a greater value on schooling than do communities dominated by Sephardic Jews and hence contribute more municipal funds to upgrade their schools. Sephardic Jews, in turn, have a greater propensity to support education than the Arab population and hence are likely to have better schools than their Arab neighbors. The result is a wide range in the quality of school facilities and the emphasis placed on the importance of learning. One way of counteracting this inevitable difference in school environment, according to the Chairman of the Education Committee of the Knesset, Mr. Avraham Katz, is his proposal to put the best teachers in the poorest schools, meaning the provision of financial incentives to get them to go to such areas. A sign of progress can be seen in the requirement that Arab girls attend school and that substantial numbers now do attend, as contrasted with the boys-only schooling practiced in Palestine under the British mandate.

The Hebrew University School of Education is now conducting a Coleman-type survey to see how well efforts to provide equality of opportunity in education have taken hold. The survey will include Arab education.

One kind of study which has been used in several Western countries to assist educational planners is the calculation of the rate of return to education generally and to specific courses of study in particular. There is no official interest in this type of calculation in Israel, however. There are several good reasons for this lack of interest. In the first place, the assumption that earnings reflect productivity is a particularly heroic assumption in Israel. Salaries are frequently limited by government policy and are not as strong a motivant to select one occupation or another as they are among American youth. Second, high taxes probably serve as a disincentive for seeking higher wages. Third, salaries reflect only a portion of an individual's standard of living; in-kind benefits, such as car and housing allowances, are given to many workers and frequently are sought after more than pure wages because the benefits are not taxed so much. Rents, especially, are highly subsidized. To be sure, there is not much housing rental in Israel since people normally buy their homes.

Recent tax reforms will make rate of return studies more feasible than they had been in the past. Under these, in-kind allowances become taxable along with salary and housing and fringe benefits must be reported as income. The new income tax data will become useful for rate of return studies, so long as educational and occupational data is reported as well. Israeli census data, unfortunately, does not include family income.

Probably most important for future educational planning efforts, as well as for the career guidance of Israelis in school or college, is the development and dissemination of occupational and educational information which is accurate, up-to-date, and locally relevant. The government now generates substantial quantities of manpower statistics to describe past and present labor market conditions and to develop forecasts about future occupational trends. Specifically, the Ministry of Education and Culture fashions a 5-year projection of occupational needs from the inputs and assessments of other Ministries, e.g., Defense, Tourism, Agriculture and Labor. This is apparently conveyed to school administrators for their guidance, but is not necessarily used by individual students or their counsellors. Nonetheless, a system to continually up-date, localize, verify, and ultimately disseminate this information in easy-to-read, useful form is essential for it to be incorporated into the career exploration and decision-making processes of individuals as well as the activities of educational and manpower planners. If such information were readily available, more planning of education would likely take place. Even if more and better planning did not take place, the availability of such information would help Israeli youngsters make more realistic and ultimately more satisfying career choices. At least the student would have information with which to counter, or at least more intelligently consider, his/her parents' occupational biases, which are now the strongest determinent of what career a student decides to prepare himself for.

Offsetting this point is another consideration: that Israel, with 3.6 million citizens (and responsible for 1.1 million Arabs in administered territories), is sufficiently small that formal planning mechanisms and processes may seem sluggish and superfluous. If problems of manpower development may be compared to those of the United States, the scale of the problems is not comparable, and the need for flexibility is paramount.

For now, many Israelis will say, there are too many uncertainties to permit this sort of systematic emphasis upon individual choice. In a nation grappling with fundamental problems of survival, the needs of defense come first, and ad hoc adjustments in training and occupations will be made to assure that trained manpower is available for Zahal (Israel Defense Forces) and the supportive industries and services. All else is secondary.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY FORMULATION

Michael H. Annison

A central issue that every government must address is how to establish machinery which makes it possible to define policy, organize resources to implement policy, and manage programs to carry out these policies. Ultimately, the effectiveness of a society is dependent in large measure on the cogency with which it is able to carry out these three functions.

The State of Israel is characterized by a population that is predominantly immigrant and drawn from over 100 nations of the world. The relatively limited size of the state and the need to absorb, assimilate, educate and train a diverse immigrant population correctly absorbs a major part of national resources. Education is the second largest government expenditure, following military appropriations.

While the education expenditures amount to 18 billion lirot out of a total budget of 83 billion, this amount does not actually reflect the full dimension of education investments in Israel, due to the substantial support provided by foreign governments, foundations and agencies, as well as appropriations from other Israeli ministries in addition to that of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

The purpose of this paper is to summarize impressions of the public policy management process in Israel. It is based on school visits, discussions with university personnel and government officials and a reading of various background papers.

Participants in the Policy Process

The State of Israel has a parliamentary, unicameral legislative system which selects its legislative representatives on a non-geographic, multi-party ballot. The size of the state makes it particularly amenable to a strong central government which is, in fact, the case. At the national level, the Minister of Education is the director of a major government agency and a member of the Cabinet. That individual is responsible for the administration of education programs in the State of Israel.

There are a number of participants in the policy formulation process. The Knesset--the Israeli Parliament--has the final legal responsibility for policy determination and appropriations. The National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences defines itself as a policy-support mechanism for the government, a basic research institution, a training mechanism for education personnel and a service mechanism for both the government and the schools.

Universities, of which there are seven, perceive themselves as having, as the Rector of Bar-Ilan University said, the responsibility of providing support for the "best minds of Israel," and also of training students and serving the needs of the state.

With respect to the policy formulation process, several observations ought to be made. First, according to Avraham Katz, Chairman of the Education Committee of the Knesset, members of the Knesset receive their information from the press, weekly publications and monthly scientific and professional journals; from friends and acquaintances; from research-finding articles and books; from members of the academic staff of universities and, finally, from gossip. This array of resources is typical of legislators in any country. What is significant is that, as in most countries, from the legislator's view, it is informal rather than formal and personally--rather than institutionally--based. Members of the Knesset are supported by a professional secretary, who has resources in the form of reference services, academic staff, consultants and personal contacts within the educational community. As a practical matter, the primary initiative in educational matters rests with the Minister of Education and his staff, as a brief summary of education legislation in Israel illustrates.

In the 28 years since Israel was established, the Knesset has considered approximately 10 to 12 major pieces of legislation in addition to appropriation matters. Approximately 85% of these bills were initiated by the Ministry and 15% were private bills. The major implication of this aspect of the policy process is that it represents a strong reliance on implicit values, traditions and assumptions within the society, as opposed to the need to have active, formal machinery to resolve differences and to define the resolution in legislation, a practice commonly followed in the United States.

A second observation is that policy decisions with respect to education appear to rest with the professional education community rather than with the broad public. The implicit assumption apparently guiding the development of education is the need to provide people with the training and experience necessary to live satisfactorily in a technologically based economic society.

There has been a steady and consistent movement to adopt academic practices of the United States. In 1950, the Israeli university system, for example, could have been characterized as basically a European system. Increasingly, the practices followed are those of the United States, one notable example being the introduction of the Bachelor's Degree in 1952.

Having briefly considered the machinery for legislative and administrative processes, it is necessary to understand the practical process and the effects this has on the development of educational policy.

Because of the nature of the political system--a multi-party, non-geographic system--the political process can be characterized as one which tends to be issue- rather than personality-based. While it is clear that personalities do play a role in education policy, particularly with reference to the heads of each of the parties, the fact that citizens vote for a party rather than a person puts a higher premium on issues than is the case, for example, in the United States.

Because of the importance of education and the national budget, each of the parties has on its slate of candidates people who represent educators. Several members of the Knesset were, and in some cases still consider themselves to be, professional educators. The result of this would appear to be a further reinforcement of a professional base for the consideration of educational issues because of the nature of the party system and the need for each of the parties to represent educational interests.

Outside the direct government machinery, there exists the National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences. As stated earlier, this group perceives itself as having an extraordinarily broad mandate. It is this writer's view that a mandate of the breadth described for this mechanism cannot, by its very nature, be successfully implemented. The reason for this is that there are very few examples of successful research efforts which do not either, on the one hand, serve a specific client, or, on the other, address a specific issue. For example, government people can never be certain about whether they are dealing with it in its operational form, which supports their interests, or whether they are dealing with it as a research mechanism or a lobbyist for educational interests. Similarly, the universities view it as a competitor because it pursues contracts for research, a primary base of a university.

The result of this is that a mechanism which by mandate appears to have responsibility for assisting in the development of educational policy does not, in fact, appear to be structured in a way that allows it to accomplish that objective.

Finally, with respect to the universities themselves, it would appear that their participation in the policy process takes place in several forms. The first and most formal are the budget discussions with the Minister of Education, the result of which is an operating budget for the universities. A second channel in Israel, as elsewhere, is the movement of personnel from the universities to the government. A third mechanism is the participation of university individuals on advisory committees of one kind or another and the use of professional papers in the public policy process.

Observations on the Machinery

The Israeli policy machinery appears to operate in a system that is characterized by some significant strengths.

Among these are an apparent overriding consensus on the issues to be addressed. The evidence for the existence of this consensus would appear to be the lack of a perceived need to use the legislative process to make decisions. The fact that there have been only 10 to 12 major legislative acts reinforces the perception that there is general agreement on what needs to be done. The issue of absorbing immigrants, that is, of providing the training necessary to allow them to assume a productive role in the Israeli system; the need to address particular requirements of disadvantaged students; and the need to maintain a strong university system for reasons of economic and cultural development are all areas that appear to be accepted by the participants in the policy process.

On the other hand, there are a number of factors which should bear close examination. The first among these is the reliance on American educational practices in the 1950s and early 1960s. These practices have come under scrutiny in the United States itself and many have been revised, or are the subject of active debate. If there is an overriding similarity between the Israeli and American experiences, it would be that the elements for establishing policy are present in both countries, but that the arrangement of resources--human, financial, and institutional--has not yet been accomplished at the level that assures efficient use of research results or resources in a public policy process. Support for this view comes from statements by members of the Ministry of Education, which did not include a recognition of the National Research Institute, and similar statements from the universities which made it clear that there was competition between the Institute and the universities themselves.

On balance, one has the impression of a strong, coherent agreement on major issues and the hope that additional experience will make it possible to use scarce resources more effectively. While the state is young, it is obviously difficult to predict how the machinery for establishing policy will develop. One would hope that the transfer process for educational practices could be accelerated to avoid the need for the country to develop and then modify practices which have been found wanting in other countries. The extent to which this will be possible is problematic in Israel, as it is in most countries.

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Paul E. Cawein

Although our trip did not provide an in-depth or comprehensive study of educational research in Israel, several visits support a general impression of the high degree of respect given to research in planning and evaluating efforts to raise the quality of educational services. In addition, lists of research projects underway gave some insight into the focus of research activities.

Sources of Support for Educational Research

The Ministry of Education and Culture is the primary source of funding for educational research. The process of administration is interesting. Within the Ministry, a full-time Chairman for Research, with a term not to exceed three years, controls research decisions with the assistance of a committee of representatives drawn on a part-time basis from the several operating units of the Ministry. As a result, there appears to be somewhat greater articulation between research and operations in the Israeli government than between the National Institute of Education and the U.S. Office of Education in the United States.

Individual grants and contracts for research given by the Ministry are very limited in size, sufficient usually for only part-time research activities by university faculty. (Faculty may earn up to 30% above their normal salary through research grants). As indicated below, the work is largely applied research, usually associated with the assessment of ongoing, developmental or experimental activities which are supported by operational funds.

In addition to research supported by the Ministry, grants and contracts are obtained from the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization. International foundations, such as the Ford Foundation and the Rothschild Foundation of London, also support educational research in Israel.

Research Centers

There are no real counterparts to the Educational Laboratories and Centers of the United States, nor is there a large group of not-for-profit or private profit corporations in the research community. Research is largely conducted by university faculty, who compete for grants and contracts somewhat independently. The Hebrew University School of Education has a Research Institute for Innovation in Education, built by the National Council of Jewish Women, U.S.A., and continues to receive annual support from this same group totalling approximately $85,000 (U.S.). Each of the universities tries to budget some funds for intramural research from its operational funds allocated by the Ministry, or from private contributions.

The Henrietta Szold Institute (The National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences) has a unique relationship with the national government, which joins with the Jewish Agency in providing an annual budget for its base administration costs. In return, the Institute provides consultative services to governmental agencies in all areas related to the behavioral sciences, including education. However, it must compete along with the universities for grants and contracts.

Current Research Agenda

From an analysis of the lists of research projects gathered during our trip, the following general areas of education appear to be the major current agenda for research:

1. Educational methods for overcoming the economic, social and educational gap between immigrants of Oriental background and the Westernized Israeli population.

    e.g.: Intellectual Advancement of Culturally Disadvantaged Youth in Post-Elementary Education. (Szold)

    : An Experimental Investigation of the Effects of Various Grouping Methods on the Cognitive and Psycho-social Development of Elementary School Pupils. (Szold)

    : Psycho-social Patterns of Culturally Disadvantaged Children. (Szold)

    : Growth and Development of Children from Various Social Strata and Ethnic Groups. (Szold)

    : A Comparative Study of Educational and Socio-Economic Achievement of North African Immigrants in France and in Israel. (Hebrew U.)

    : Jennie Levitt Institute—Service to Schools Defined as Disadvantaged. (Hebrew U.)

2. Early Childhood Education and its Role in Supporting the Integration of Disadvantaged Children.

    e.g.: Teaching Reading in Kindergarten (age five) as an Additional Medium in Promoting Culturally Disadvantaged Children. (Szold)

: A Study of a Special Experimental Program for the Educational Interaction Between Kindergarten Teachers and Parents. (Szold)

: Home Instruction Program for Pre-School Youngsters. (Hebrew U.)

3. Improved Patterns of Vocational Education and Job Placement.

e.g.: Results of Final Examinations in Vocational and Technical Schools. (Szold)

: Non-conventional Vocational Programs for Low-Achieving Post-elementary School Students. (Szold)

: Vocational Training and Industrial Needs: (Szold)

(a) A study in Metal Work Industry
(b) A study in the Electrical and Electronics Industries
(c) A study in Fine Chemistry (Pharmaceutics)
(d) A study in Banking and Office Management

: Motivating Schoolgirls to Study Technical Subjects (Electronics, Fine Mechanics) (Szold)

4. Alternative Forms of Education

e.g.: The powerful Educational Environment for Disadvantaged Adolescents: Boarding vs Regular Schools; Enrichment vs Non-Enrichment; Non-formal education vs Formal. An Evaluative and Developmental Study. (Szold)

: Comparative Study of Informal Education Structures, (Summer Camps). (Hebrew U.)

: "Youth Town" Project in Kiryat Shmonah. (Hebrew U.)

: Administration of Fellowships for Training Personnel in the Area of Non-Formal Education. (Hebrew U.)

5. Religious Education

e.g.: Value Systems of the Israel Educational Elite. (Szold)

: Moral Judgment of Youth Leaders in Israel. (Szold)

: Religious Attitudes of Young Adults who are Graduates of the Religious School System. (Szold)

: Evaluation of Special Programs to Enhance Jewish Awareness and Jewish Identity. (Szold)

: Degree of Conformity to Religious Standards in Adolescent Girls. (Szold)

EDUCATIONAL EVALUATION

Bert Mogin

It is difficult to pin down education evaluation activities, mostly because they do not seem to be strongly organized or centrally directed. Evaluation of overall program impact or effectiveness, as performed in the United States, does not seem to take place in any systematic manner. Individual researchers, mostly at the university level or in the National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, may conduct evaluation studies but they do so primarily in pursuit of their own interests and these are oriented towards educational research. There are several other forms of evaluation activity that occur in a more organized fashion. These include:

- Evaluation of teacher performance—by staff of education departments of the universities and by the staff of the Ministry of Education and Culture.
- Evaluation of curricula—also by staff of education departments of the universities and by Ministry staff. Mostly this is performed during the curriculum development phase and involves classroom observation and comparison of actual with expected results.
- Evaluation built into the design of an experiment or research project. This can either be self-evaluation by the project staff or "third party" evaluation by a neutral observer.

Professor Avraham Minkovich of the Hebrew University School of Education indicated that some progress is being made to develop better evaluation capability both for the Ministry and for project leaders of education experiments for whom a training program is being developed. One form of evaluation is the National Scholastic Survey Test, a series of nation-wide achievement tests taken by all students at periodic intervals.

ISRAEL'S SYSTEM OF EVALUATING SCHOOLS

Ruth W. Crowley

Israel's commitment to education is second only to its commitment to national defense. In view of this, it was surprising to learn that Israel's methods of evaluating the overall quality of its educational efforts has not received the attention one would expect. Despite this lack of a formal overall evaluation system, education in Israel clearly enjoys a high reputation for excellence.

The responsibility for education in Israel is divided between the Ministry of Education and Culture and the departments of education of the municipalities or rural local councils. The main functions of the Ministry of Education and Culture are to maintain and develop the educational system, to ensure suitable educational standards, to train and guide teachers, to inspect educational establishments, to develop educational programs and curricula, to improve teaching conditions, and to organize and encourage educational and cultural activities for adults. Although centralized, the Ministry carries out its functions through six decentralized school regions, and by cooperating with local authorities which provide for portions of the schools' funds, and with other public bodies in Israel such as the Ministries of Labor and Defense, as well as with a number of Jewish organizations which provide substantial funds towards the building and operation of educational institutions.

Because of other more pressing priorities, the Ministry of Education is only now beginning to think about developing a formalized method of evaluating the educational quality or accomplishments of its elementary, secondary and vocational schools. Until recently, the evaluation of schools was performed mainly by supervisory personnel who are responsible for determining whether or not schools are following established policies. This function is performed by site visits to the various schools. Recently, self-evaluation studies have also been instituted to determine the positive or negative value of changes made in the structure and content of the school system. Evaluation of boarding schools, of the extended school day and of curriculum reforms are also being conducted. Special evaluations are also performed through research projects which are usually carried out by the various institutions of higher education in Israel. In addition, a series of tests is being given to all fifth grade students in order to evaluate accomplishments and failures of the system. Since no names are used on these tests, they are not being used to evaluate individual student accomplishments. Similar tests are being developed for all grades.

The accomplishments of students enrolled in academic high school programs can be measured, since all students wishing to attend college must take and pass matriculation examinations. However, enthusiasm for this method of evaluating the quality of the educational system does not seem to be shared by teachers, as those we talked with expressed displeasure with this type of evaluation. Because of the pressure felt by teachers to see that their students pass the examinations, they frequently gear their entire courses towards the passing of these matriculation exams.

Students who do not intend to go on to college are not required to take the matriculation examinations. Therefore, evaluation by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the quality of this type of education is left pretty much up to that gained through site visits by supervisory personnel. However, because technical skills are in great demand in Israel during and after military service, vocational education gets a great deal of attention. Site visits and evaluations are conducted by the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Defense. Many private organizations, such as Hadassah which sponsors Youth Aliyah institutions and the World ORT Union (Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training), provide much of the finances used to operate technical and vocational training schools in Israel and employ various teams of inspectors to visit the schools regularly. One director of a Youth Aliyah boarding school told us that his school was under constant evaluation by site visitors from the various governmental and private organizations which provide funds to his school. Apparently this type of evaluation, especially in the vocational area, has proven quite successful. For example, the ORT system of vocational training schools enjoys the reputation of being the country's finest network of technical institutes, vocational high schools, apprenticeship centers and rehabilitation training centers for the handicapped. This reputation was affirmed by the Director of the Israel Institute of Technology who, without hesitation, said that graduates of ORT schools are rarely turned down for admission to the Institute and that they are encouraged to continue their higher education at technical institutes after military service because of the high quality of their education.

The evaluation of institutions of higher education is similar to the accreditation procedures used in the United States in that the evaluation or on-site inspection of the institution is performed at the peer level by experts not connected with the Council for Higher Education. The similarity stops here because the decision to approve or accredit is made by the Council for Higher Education, although these decisions are subject to appeal. In addition to the approval function, the Council, which was established by law in 1958, is responsible for establishing standards for the approval or accreditation of institutions of higher education and for the degrees a recognized institution may award. Because each university in Israel is autonomous, the evaluation or accreditation of educational quality, as in the United States, is performed by a peer evaluation team of experts after the school has filed its self-evaluation report. A new institution, such as the University of the Negev in Beersheba, is usually supervised by another well-established university until it feels it is ready for inspection and accreditation. Now 11 years old, the University of the Negev has recently been inspected by a site visiting team and expects to receive its candidate or pre-accreditation status soon. Its contract with the Hebrew University will then be terminated and it will begin to operate independently.

Througout our meetings with education officials and our visits to educational institutions in Israel a strong commitment to education was evident. The Israelis place a high value on education in the belief that it is an extremely important factor in developing a viable country. We were extremely impressed by the dedication of the educators and education officials whom we met and with their practical approach to solving diverse problems, including the complex ones of educating those who have emigrated to Israel from the underdeveloped as well as the more developed countries of the world and of integrating them and the Israeli-born citizens into one progressive society. From the brief period we spent in the country, it appears that Israel can well be proud of its educational system and the quality of its graduates.

LANGUAGE POLICY AND EDUCATION

Dorothy Waggoner

Many present-day aspects of Israeli society were the result of fortuitous circumstances. Such was, apparently, not the case with the determination of many original settlers who, following the lead of Eliezer Ben Yehuda (who arrived in Palestine in 1882), decided that the language of the restored national homeland should be Hebrew. It is one of the miracles of modern Israel that an ancient language, used for 2,000 years almost exclusively for religious observance, has been revived to serve the needs of a modern industrialized state. This is an achievement perhaps unique in the history of human language.

The role of Hebrew as a unifying force and as a focus of national identity for an otherwise extremely diverse population cannot be overstated. Moreover, Israel's accomplishment in teaching Hebrew to its immigrants is formidable. In the 1972 Census, at a time when somewhat more than half of the Jewish population was born abroad,[1] 88.4% of Jews aged 14 and older reported that they spoke Hebrew. For 77.5% of the age group, Hebrew was their principal or their only language for everyday use. In addition, nearly 88% of the Jewish population aged 14 and older were reported to be literate in Hebrew--that is, to be able to write a simple letter in the language.[2]

These statistics are still more striking when it is noted that of immigrants entering the country between 1969 and 1973, only 13% spoke any Hebrew and fewer than a quarter of those spoke it fluently. After one year in Israel, 35% still spoke no Hebrew but 25% spoke it fluently and 40% had learned enough to speak with difficulty. Statistics on ability in Hebrew after three years in the country are available for the immigrants entering between 1969 and 1971. In this group, 27% did not speak Hebrew after three years but 41% had learned to speak it fluently and 32% had acquired some facility.[3]

A large measure of the credit for the progress in Hebrew made by immigrants must be given to the ulpan program. Ulpanim are intensive adult language schools, sometimes including resident facilities for newcomers. Enrollment and the number of classes have increased or decreased periodically, according to the rate of immigration. Thus, in 1951, the first year for which statistics are available, there were 808 classes with more than 14,000 students. By 1955 there were 2,094 classes with nearly 32,000 students. This number had fallen to 806 classes with 13,000 students in 1960, but in 1973 it rose to a high again of 1,287 classes with nearly 21,000 students. In 1975, there were 1,187 Hebrew language classes in ulpanim with 17,129 students.[4]

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[1] Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975, p. 43.
[2] Ibid., p. 601.
[3] Ibid., p. 141.

We visited an ulpan in Haifa where we observed heterogeneous classes of students being instructed according to the best modern methodology in which simple sentences are drilled in a communication model. Students are introduced fairly early to the Hebrew writing system and this is apparently successful, at least by the measure which was the basis for the literacy figures in the Census.

Ulpanim are, of course, adult schools. There are presently three high schools in Israel in which English-speaking, Persian-speaking and Russian-speaking teenage immigrants may complete their high school programs in their own languages while learning Hebrew as a second language. However, other than these, there are no special programs for immigrant children, either to teach them Hebrew as a second language or to enable them to study in their own languages while they learn Hebrew. Immigrant children are expected to follow the regular instructional program conducted entirely in Hebrew.

Most immigrant children apparently do learn the language and do succeed in the Hebrew-medium system. We were told that the children from European and American backgrounds do not have difficulty. However, statistics for all children who had immigrated to Israel since 1969 who were enrolled in the primary schools in 1972-73 show that more than 16% in the first grade, and increasing proportions up to nearly 30% of immigrant eighth graders, were older than their peers. For immigrant children from Asian or African backgrounds and children whose fathers were born in Asia or Africa the proportions were nearly 10% in first grade and nearly 18% in eighth grade.[5]

These children--from Asian or African, i.e. Sephardic or Oriental origins--constituted nearly 60% of the primary school enrollment in 1972-73. Ninety percent of them were considered to be "culturally deprived."[6] It is for them that the special tutoring and other remedial programs are designed. So too are the new junior high schools which it is hoped will break the pattern of group isolation and integrate children from European and American origins with those from Oriental origins. I visited several of these programs. Here, children are being individually tutored to further their language and conceptual development and are placed in ability groupings for math, English and Hebrew language (grammar) lessons or are otherwise given special help. At least one perceptive principal of one of the new junior high schools I visited has devised a plan for helping less advanced youngsters experience success in an integrated Hebrew literature class by giving them preview lessons. This principal is careful not to carry over the ability ranking applied to the children in the primary schools but to assign them to groups only after a month and a half in her school. At that time, the children and their parents are involved in the child's placement. After grouping, slow groups have a much lower pupil/teacher ratio--two teachers for 17 children in a group I observed, as compared with the usual ratio of one teacher for 30 children.

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[4] Ibid., p. 630.

[5] Ibid., p. 616.

[6] Ibid., p.

Ninety percent of children presently enrolled in schools are said to be Hebrew-speaking. Even if this were not the case, because of the pressure for Hebrew as the language of all Israelis, the use of other languages for instruction of Jewish children, except for the special purpose mentioned above, would be unacceptable. However, a number of educators are aware of the need to integrate the child's home background with his school experience and to develop in parents and children a pride in the culture, knowledge, traditions and skills brought to Israel by their groups. A particularly outstanding example I found was a day care center where parents are expected to give a day's work a week to the program. Not only are carpentry and other handyman skills being used to make fathers as well as mothers feel that this is their center, but such knowledge as that of folk medicine is being used to develop materials to further understanding of modern health requirements.

A corollary of the decision to make Hebrew the national language of Israel is the need for strong instructional programs in widely-spoken foreign languages. Just as Dutch or Danish speakers must learn German or English for use in international contacts, so Hebrew-speaking people must learn some other language to communicate with non-Israelis. The logical choice stemming from the period of the British mandate and also, perhaps, because of the special relationship between Israel and the United States since independence, is English. English is the least stigmatized foreign language. Indeed, when parents born in former French-speaking areas were offered the choice of French instead of English for instruction for their children, they chose English so that their children would be "just like everyone else."

English is essential for university studies, since most textbooks and bibliographies are in English. Thus a university like Bar-Ilan, which, incidentally, receives more students from the Oriental group than the other universities, has an extensive program to teach English language reading skills to entering students. All students pass through this program unless they are from English-speaking countries, have transferred from other universities, or have achieved 90 or higher on the English section of the national high school matriculation examination. Some 1,200 students were taking special courses in English at the time of our visit to Bar-Ilan.

In the schools, English instruction begins in the fifth or, in some cases, in the fourth grade. Students take a well-defined curriculum featuring the best of modern foreign language instruction and including considerable attention to grammar and literature. I visited a number of different classes of university-bound high school students in Tel Aviv and Haifa and was greatly impressed with the extent to which these students were able to converse in English at a high level of sophistication.

English is widely spoken among the Israeli population in general. Dr. Robert Cooper has found in his research that people in the street have no hesitation in responding in English to strangers. English proficiency varies with the amount of education, with persons with more education being more likely to know English than those with less education.

In connection with the status of English in Israel, it should also be noted that the language is spoken as the principal or first everyday language only by very few persons. Among the 22.5% of Jews aged 14 and older who reported in the 1972 Census that their principal language was not Hebrew, less than 5% said that their principal language was English.[7]

The other language which has a special status in Israel is Arabic. Palestinian Arabic is spoken by many of the 518,700 non-Jews who, in 1974, made up 15% of the Israeli population.[8] Other dialects of Arabic originating in North Africa and the Middle East are spoken by Jewish immigrants from those areas. Of the 22.5% of Jews 14 and older who reported a principal language other than Hebrew, the largest group, more than 22%, reported that they spoke Arabic.[9]

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[7] Ibid., p. 601.
[8] Ibid., pp. 19 and 43.
[9] Ibid., p. 601.

Israel has a separate educational system for Arabs in which the language of instruction is Arabic. Hebrew, beginning in the third grade, and English, beginning in the fifth, are taught as second or foreign languages. In 1974-75, 146,377 students were enrolled in institutions in the Arab system. Moslems constituted 78% of these students, slightly more than the proportion of Moslems among non-Jews in the total population.[10] As compared with the 99% of Jewish children aged 6-13 who were enrolled in school in 1972-73, 91% of non-Jews were enrolled in institutions of the Arab system in 1972-73. However, only 76% of non-Jews aged 13 were enrolled, 88% of 13-year-old boys and 64% of 13-year-old girls.[11]

Under certain circumstances, non-Jews with sufficient proficiency in Hebrew and the desire to do so can enroll in schools in the Hebrew-medium system. It is unclear to what extent this is reflected in the statistics but the number does not appear to be very large. However, I visited a high school in Haifa where Arab parents were actively soliciting this opportunity for their children on the basis that Jewish teachers in the Hebrew-medium system provide a higher quality education than the Arab teachers in the Arab-medium system. Since there is no Arab university in Israel, Arabs at the higher education level take their university studies in Hebrew.[12]

Students in Hebrew-medium schools have an opportunity to study Arabic for five years beginning in the fourth grade. It is offered as an option with French as the second foreign language after English. Most of the instruction is directed toward mastery of literary or classical Arabic. Accordingly, students are not prepared to understand radio or television programs in Arabic or to converse with Israeli Arabs in Arabic. Most teachers of Arabic in the Hebrew schools are not Arabs. Since their knowledge tends to be limited to the classical language, some efforts are now being made to help them acquire the spoken language through experiences in Arab villages and in teacher education programs conducted jointly with teachers from Gaza who are learning Hebrew.

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[10] Ibid., pp. 43 and 620.

[11] Ibid., pp. 618 and 620. Since education under the British mandate was not compulsory these figures represent a considerable increase over time, particularly for the girls, hardly any of whom attended school before 1948.

[12] Eight hundred and sixty-seven non-Jews were enrolled in Israeli universities in 1972-73 (Ibid., p. 627).

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Dorothy Shuler

A vital, growing component of Israel's education system, vocational education has a measure of acceptability that is uncommon in the United States. Much of this respectability stems from the character of the growth and development of the State of Israel and the high regard in which work is held by the policymakers, many of whom are or were members of kibbutzim.

The roots of vocational education began as an outgrowth of the early kibbutz movement as agricultural schools were established and a system of Jewish agency instructors moved about the countryside working with the new settlers, most of whom knew nothing about farming. Thus, much of the success of those early settlements was a result not only of the energy, drive and commitment of the pioneers, but also of the knowledge gained from the agricultural schools. And, after the 1947-48 War of Liberation, instructors in each village helped the settlers expand, produce and replace imports by homegrown food.

The British mandate, with its categories for immigration, also prompted the Jewish agencies to create new means for projecting labor needs and developing skill training. The main four categories were: persons of independent means, professional men, persons with definite prospects for employment, and small tradesmen and artisans with a capital of 500 pounds (under $2500). The third category was the only means by which those without capital could enter. During these years and continuing with Israel's growth, more immigrants with professional training arrived than the economy could absorb and many had to learn to do manual work and learn skilled or semi-skilled trades.

These phenomena, plus Israel's need to become an industrialized country quickly and the reoccuring needs of a well-trained and mobilized defense force, have made vocational education a central force in the survival of the country.

We visited several of Israel's vocational schools and colleges scattered throughout the country. We heard about, but did not visit, the apprenticeship center programs and the factory schools funded through the Ministry of Labor. A number of these are housed in vocational schools where the students attend classroom and laboratory programs from one to three days a week. These programs are similar to the cooperative education programs or coupled on-the-job training in the United States.

In fact, American schools could learn much about how Israel has been able to use resources from several sources to maintain schools and programs. The Ne'urim Hadassah Center, we were told, receives money from six sources. Most of the vocational schools received some funds from the Ministry of Labor for apprenticeship programs and several of these obtain funds from the Ministry of Health for health-related training programs.

To give some indication of the diversity of the vocational schools, here are some brief descriptions of the kinds of schools we visited.

ORT Syngalowski Center, Tel Aviv

Sponsored by the World ORT union, founded in St. Petersburg, Russia, ORT Israel now has over 80 schools and colleges. The Center we visited housed both a Junior Technical College and a Technical High School enrolling about 1800 students. The ORT network also has apprenticeship programs and programs for adults. The latter are offered during the afternoon and evening with courses varying from one month to three years.

As for other schools, students pay tuition costs based on the "ability to pay." The ORT schools receive money not only from World ORT but also from the Ministries of Education, Health and Labor.

An impressive plant, the Syngalowski Center appeared to have excellent up-to-date machine shops and electronic equipment. A telecommunications program on campus included work with color television, generally considered a luxury and not yet in use by Israeli television, although the neighboring Arab stations broadcast in color.

Industry evaluates the school and a follow-up study indicates that about 70-74% of the students stay in trades while the remainder enter business. About 25% of the students are women.

We were told that Nazareth had an ORT school for Arab students and that ORT had established a Druse school on Mount Carmel and five schools in Eastern Jerusalem and the administered territories.

Tel Aviv Technical College

On the same campus with Tel Aviv University, the Technical College is an independent unit funded directly by several government agencies. Modern and highly technical equipment is found here also, but the space is more limited. About 480 high school students are enrolled, along with about 250 adults in the day school and 250 in the evening school. The school is similar to Area Vocational Institutes in the United States, which also enroll both secondary and post-secondary students.

Administrators stressed the high standards both for entrance and continuation in school. It was here and at the Knesset that we heard the most vocal concerns about the forthcoming budget cuts for vocational education due to Israel's current economic squeeze.

Ne'urim-Hadassah Center

One of the Youth Aliyah centers (described elsewhere), Ne'urim offers a wide number of skill training programs to resident students and day students from neighboring communities. Attractive and well-equipped, this center obviously had a higher per-pupil expenditure than the two previously described systems. However, there is much emphasis here on working with disadvantaged students who do not seem to fit into the regular school systems. Ne'urim maintains a supportive environment and integrates, when at all possible, the students who need special help with those from the community. We were told that sister institutions Ramat-Hadassah and Kiryat Ye'arim had special courses for educationally backward and emotionally disturbed children, but we did not have time to visit these schools.

Comprehensive High School, Beersheba

This is one of many comprehensive high schools for Jewish students offering academic and vocational programs. As in Beersheba, they are on the same campus, but the vocational students often have their own building and classrooms. The Beersheba school was new and well-equipped. As elsewhere, women enroll in traditional women's occupations and seldom were seen in the machine shops and technical programs, with the exception of the electronics field which had attracted several women students.

Also as in the United States, vocational instructors did not seem to feel that they were discriminating, rather that "this is the way things were." Career choices appear to be fairly open but we really did not interview counselors who could shed further insight into what is a complex problem and one discussed elsewhere in this report.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Susan Wiener

Education in Israel seems to be a subject of great interest to every element of society and, as is true regarding many subjects, every Israeli has an opinion about it. This interest is understandable in a country that regards an educated citizenry as a necessary element for its continued survival. Yet, what is a bit more difficult to explain is why this concern hasn't been translated into a stronger local influence on educational matters. Control of educational policy and planning is firmly planted in Jerusalem at the Ministry of Education and Culture. We saw some evidences, however, that local governments and other community organizations are trying, in some measure, to make education more responsive to the needs of their particular communities and populations.

These efforts take various forms and could not, in most instances, be classified as examples of "activism," as might be expected of community organizations in the United States. In fact, one of the sociologists with whom we met, Dr. Meier Loewenberg of Bar-Ilan University, said he thought community groups organized for the purpose of exercising political pressure were practically nonexistent in Israel. Instead, most of the efforts to organize community groups were being made in order to involve local citizens in the educational process.

Legally, responsibility for the country's school system is divided between the Ministry of Education and Culture and the departments of education of municipalities or rural local councils. The Ministry, through its six decentralized school regions, controls all substantive facets of education, including training, personnel, curricula, and examinations. Local departments are responsible for the more prosaic needs, such as buildings and equipment, purchase of textbooks and learning materials, and the organization of local school districts. Thus, legally, at least, there is no institutionalized encouragement for local involvement in educational policy.

More informal attempts at local involvement showed varying degrees of success, depending upon the economic prosperity and cultural background of the population involved.

One of the obstacles to successful attempts to foster local involvement in education is the lack of such a tradition in the Middle Eastern and African cultures making up over half the population of Israel. A good illustration of this problem is the experience of a poor community, Kfar Shelem, in the city of Tel Aviv. Kfar Shelem was started in the early 1950s as a transit community for Arabic or "Oriental" immigrants, i.e. it was the stopping-off point for these new immigrants before they found jobs and permanent housing elsewhere. However, many of the people who came to Kfar Shelem were unable to find meaningful employment because of their lack of education and never moved out of the community. Soon a core of unemployable permanent residents built up in Kfar Shelem, requiring all types of social services but having no idea that they themselves could do something about getting them. In the countries from which these immigrants came it was the practice to wait for the small power elite to do something for the people, to believe that things will somehow get better. Political pressure was, and still is, considered to be rabble-rousing. So the very idea of citizen involvement in local affairs met with resistance, even suspicion, at the time social workers tried to initiate such activity.

The most that the social workers hoped to do was to increase citizens' awareness of their identity as members of a community, each responsible in some measure for the general welfare. Success, so far, has come very slowly, beginning with basic efforts at neighborhood cooperation to keep small areas free of garbage. The only attempts at educational involvement we observed in Kfar Shelem did not have much to do with the five or six area schools. They were mainly concerned with providing some supervised after-school activities for the children and youth of the community.

Another obstacle to successful attempts at community involvement in educational issues among the same type of Oriental population is the absence of a strong educational tradition. For one thing, a substantial part of this population has not yet internalized the connection between a good education and greater employment opportunities, according to Dvorah Landau, Regional Welfare Director for the area that includes Kfar Shelem. Also, many parents of Oriental background have never been well-educated enough to take an active role in their own children's schooling.

Some efforts to increase parent-involvement have been undertaken in the border development town of Kiryat Shmonah. The community center here has organized a program whereby "block workers," usually housewives who have been trained for community work, act as a sounding board for the problems of the individual families in their "block" (building or group of dwellings). While these block workers don't do family counseling, or any other type of work that requires professional training, they do help families sort out their problems and then direct them toward the social services that might actually provide the solutions. One of the valuable things these block workers have done is point out to parents that they can take part in their children's education, through both at-home, child-centered activities and direct participation in school affairs. Admittedly, this is a very basic concept, but a necessary first step toward more heavy involvement.

As a development town, however, Kiryat Shmonah has other, more acute educational problems which the citizenry has not yet attacked. The most important one at present, says Rafi Amram, director of the community center, is the difficulty in getting and keeping good teachers. Teachers coming to Kiryat Shmonah not only have to cope with the constant threat of attack from across the nearby Lebanese border, but they have to deal with a town that provides only poor educational facilities, no nearby university, no cultural program to speak of, and only a very small community of their social and intellectual peers. A well-organized community could probably exert some pressure on the government to more heavily invest in programs to keep highly skilled professionals living and working in the development towns of the northern Galilee. So far, however, Kiryat Shmonah has been able only to work on the basics of housing and municipal services.

A town facing even more extreme problems is the all-Arab town of Tamra, some distance outside of Haifa. The one man trying to organize the community and bring educational services to the population has a monumental job to do: He must bring a tradition-bound, centuries-old culture into the 1970s. Seventy percent of the population over 30 years of age is illiterate in any language. Until recently, women were never allowed out of the home. It is only in the past few years that girls were sent to school and out of the entire population of 1,200 people, only 135 are high school graduates. Community involvement in educational control is practically impossible. Yet, one day, this minority population will probably find it imperative to pressure the central government to reform curricula to be more responsive to their needs.

The situations in the towns of Tamra and Kiryat Shmonah and the community of Kfar Shelem illustrate problems within the population itself as to why local control has not progressed to a more intense level. However, in a more indirect way, they also point out some reasons why the national government is reluctant to decentralize educational control. First, Israel is a growing nation of immigrants from more than 100 countries, with more than 70 native languages and many diverse cultures. The nation has to continue to lessen the many cultural and social differences among its populace before it can allow much local control of educational policy. This need to build a "national personality" is particularly important in a country that faces the threat of war and so requires a cohesive population. A second but related issue is that the central government has not yet found a satisfactory way of dealing with the education of Arabs qua Arabs. So far, very little attention is paid in the public schools to the question of pan-Arab nationalism, an educational problem of no small import to Israel's security, and one which would have much greater urgency given a situation of greater local control of education.

All of this discussion about central control is not to say that there aren't more positive examples of community action. Petach Tikvah is a middle-class community outside Tel Aviv. There we visited the Neve Oz Elementary School, whose principal, Hannh Gilat, gave us many examples of a strong community-school relationship. But aside from evidences of citizen interest in school activities, she also told us that she and the community have exercised their leeway in adding to and otherwise altering national curricula. Also, even though the Ministry provides most of the school budget, local families voluntarily contribute IL20 a year to support special activities. Further, the school has a management group of several teachers who make all administrative decisions for the school. We were led to believe that participation of teachers in management was rather unusual and considered quite progressive.

There are also some examples of a more political type of activity in connection with schools. An article in the Jerusalem Post of September 1, 1975, which reported on events of the opening day of this school year, contained several instances of parent involvement in strikes for better school conditions. In Beersheba, parent organizations helped boycott the schools to protest the lack of a school psychologist; in both Ma'alot and an area of Tel Aviv, parents kept students at home to protest school building conditions. Other boycotts covered complaints such as lack of a full-time headmaster and the presence of too many new immigrants among the new students.

Perhaps the most obvious example of local control of education is the system of schooling for the population living on kibbutzim. This system embodies the philosophies of socialist pioneers. It trains teachers separately, hires and provides a substantial part of the salaries of educational personnel, and concentrates on teaching values not generally taught in the regular schools. However, this system does not involve the problem of trying to take over at the local level powers that are currently held by the central government since the kibbutzim have vast internal autonomy in any case.

The fact that the system of kibbutz education poses no threat to the power of Jerusalem is probably the key to its successful self-regulation. Until the cultural, social and security problems of Israel stabilize somewhat, strong central control of the national system of public education will probably continue, and attempts at local involvement will remain as they are for some years to come.

PARENT INVOLVEMENT IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AMONG DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

Judith Reed

A visitor discussing Israeli programs that involve parents in early childhood education among disadvantaged groups is struck by both similarities and differences between such programs in Israel and the United States.

The similarities are not surprising since Israeli educators, researchers and social workers are well informed about U. S. programs and alert to opportunities to adapt those that have been successful and meet Israeli needs. In addition, they have learned, as we have in the United States, that it is important to recognize and build upon the culture of "different" home backgrounds.

Who are the disadvantaged children in Israel? An Israeli fact sheet defines them as "those whose level of school achievement--because of environmental conditions--is far below that of children from middle-class families." According to one educator we met, one out of every five children in Israel is underprivileged, using one or more of the following four criteria:

- Children whose fathers had less than elementary school education. (Half of the fathers in this group are functionally illiterate).
- Children from families with four or more children.
- Children from families whose living conditions include three or four people per room.
- Children whose parents' cash income is insufficient to meet their needs.

The incidence of these factors is, of course, highest among children of Sephardic backgrounds--those whose parents came from Asia or North Africa.

In 1971 a Commission on Disadvantaged Youth was established by the Prime Minister. The following year the Commission, composed of 139 experts from various fields including housing, education and welfare, under the chairmanship of Israel Katz, produced a 3-volume report on the "social state" of Israeli society. The Katz Commission found that the gap between the Ashkenazi and Sephardic group was large and growing. For example, 60% of all the children who entered elementary school were from large Sephardic families but only 37% of students entering high school and 9% of those entering a university were from this group.

Much research, before and since the Katz Commission report, has been undertaken to identify problems and plan programs to overcome this social and educational gap. Pilot research projects and larger compensatory education programs have been tried or established, including lengthening of the school day and after-school enrichment programs, special boarding schools for "gifted disadvantaged" youngsters (3,000 pupils were attending 25 such schools in 1975), development of a flexible pattern of vocational education, integration of children from Oriental and Western backgrounds through establishment of a junior high school system and tuition-free, pre-kindergarten for three- and four-year olds from disadvantaged backgrounds. In addition, a variety of projects that emphasize working with the families of disadvantaged children and involving parents in their early education have been initiated.

Impressions of some of these latter programs, gleaned from talks with those working in the fields of education and social welfare, follow. Significantly, Dr. Nehama Nir, Director of Early Childhood Education in the Ministry of Education and Culture, pointed out, as did others with whom we spoke, that the Hebrew phrase for those we in the United States usually term "disadvantaged" is "te'uney tipu'ah"--"ones to be fostered."

KEDMAH

One of the most interesting programs is KEDMAH, which takes its name from an abbreviation of the Hebrew words meaning "Parent-Teachers Group Discussion." We talked with Dr. Nir, who designed the project, carried out the preliminary field work, and held the first discussion groups with parents of kindergarten children. An account of the program, which began as a research project in 1970 with funds from the Ministry of Education, was published in 1973. Today the program is being implemented across Israel, no longer only in kindergartens and nursery schools but also in the elementary grades and in two high schools in Tel Aviv.

The goals of the project, as outlined in the 1973 report[1], were fourfold:

- To foster the "positive self-concept" of parents in general, and of disadvantaged parents in particular, and to awaken in them the awareness of their key educational role.
- To arouse in the kindergarten teacher sensitivity to the educational and evaluative interaction between the parents and their children based on the socio-cultural background of the home.
- To enrich the teaching program in the kindergarten with material which illustrates the diversity of cultures among the communities of Israel.
- To create a widespread movement which will establish parent circles and discussion groups for the promotion of dialogue between teachers and parents on a footing of complete equality.

In general, the project focuses upon the Eastern culture of Jews who came to Israel from the Middle East and North Africa.

Dr. Nir explained how the program has changed attitudes. At first, parents were reluctant to recognize the utility of discussions with their children's kindergarten teachers. "Why are you asking us what we think?" they said. "You know how to teach." The kindergarten teacher was also apt to say: "Why are you asking us to talk to the parents--we are the professionals."

How much teachers could and did learn from parents is seen in the teachers' responses to a questionnaire distributed after the first experimental project ended. "I discovered cultural values that I had previously not attached any significance to," one teacher wrote. Another explained: "I acquired a new skill: to listen to another person, to learn more than to teach, and to pay attention to the mothers' ideas concerning their children's education." A third teacher wrote: "The very fact that they are listened to raised their self-esteem...it seems to me they also look at their children in a new way..."

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[1] Nir, Nehama and Jick T., KEDMAH, Research Report No. 172, Publication No. 525, National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, The Henrietta Szold Institute, Jerusalem, April 1973.

Parents' reactions to the early discussion groups, elicited in interviews, also reflect the project's significance. A mother born in Persia said: "It taught me to teach my child...I never thought I could help him so much." A mother from Iraq commented: "You always learn--the sages say that the longer you live, the more you learn. It was lovely to learn from others. My older children were quieter, and the little one is more active. I have to know how to deal with each one separately."

An Israeli-born mother said: "...I learned things that I hadn't come across before. For example, I learned that the child has to know colors, height, weight, time. All the mothers learned and then I also began. I had had other children, but with this one I do things differently. We are more sensitive now; we know more..."

A father from North Africa said: "...They asked me to come and I came. My son saw that I went to the kindergarten, and that gave him the strength and importance, and it changed him a lot. I don't want this to be only a research project...It's good for the child, for the parents, and for the kindergarten teacher. Parents and children should also meet together. It would be very interesting."

Dr. Nir explained that the aim of KEDMAH is to have teachers learn from parents and to discover their values. "We had been anxious to assimilate the new immigrants into Israeli culture and not to understand their culture. KEDMAH aims to make the parents' culture part of the culture of Israel."

The content of the parent-teacher discussion groups, held once a fortnight, varies. One topic introduced early in the program was how to tell a story to children and what kind of stories to tell. Teachers learned that many parents thought such Western stories as "Snow White" were silly. When one teacher suggested that they tell stories of their own childhoods, the parents were very receptive. Now, as a result of the project, a collection of Jewish folklore from Eastern countries will be used in all the schools. Eastern music was also tape recorded for children and these tapes, too, are now widely used in the schools.

As teachers learned more about family customs they began to ask mothers to participate in school events.

For instance, during holidays the mothers now prepare ethnic food for the children. Formerly, Dr. Nir said, "We only celebrated the holidays in European ways. The Eastern families celebrate the same holidays, but differently."

During meetings, parents also talk about their interactions with the children at home and, as a result of the group discussions, they often are able to solve problems themselves, instead of asking for help. In so doing, they gain a new respect for themselves, as do the teachers for them. Mothers also learn to weigh some traditional methods of childrearing. For instance, parents who believed in harsh physical punishment were not told that this was damaging but were encouraged to discuss their own feelings about such punishment. "Sometimes we put the question to them and sometimes they raise it themselves," Dr. Nir said. Through discussion, parents recalled their own unhappiness about such harsh physical punishment. "Our fathers did it to us and it is bad," they concluded, but until the discussion groups began, many parents had not recognized the use of such punishment as an issue.

Home Intervention Projects

Other projects, like KEDMAH whose underlying philosophy was drawn in part from research and programs in the United States, build upon concepts familiar in the United States.

In talking with Mr. Arieh Kreisler in the Ministry of Social Welfare, we learned about 10 home intervention projects now being undertaken in development areas. The target population in these projects are multi-children families, mostly those among the newer immigrant groups and from Oriental backgrounds. The workers are women drawn from the welfare population who are themselves mothers of large families. Since the projects involve about 150 workers, who have about 800 children of their own, it is felt that if they only work with their own children the accomplishment will be considerable.

Mr. Kreisler told us that his department had looked carefully at programs in the United States to see where they had or had not succeeded and then attempted to design programs for Israel. By using paraprofessional workers in development areas where professional workers are scarce, it is thought the projects can meet needs quickly. The program has some of the components of

Home Start, the three-year demonstration project supported by the Office of Child Development in the United States.

Home visits are an integral part of the social worker's role, Mr. Kreisler said, and a major aim is to assist mothers in educating their young children in the home setting, including teaching mothers how to play with their children. Hygiene and health components are also part of the project, although health needs are not common since good health programs are available in each community through the government-sponsored maternal and child health clinics. (See the reports on Tipat Halav).

Mr. Kreisler described the organization of the program as simple and practical. The home visitors have weekly individual meetings with the project director and weekly team meetings. The project director has weekly meetings with the consultant--the programs work in cooperation with faculty from university schools of social work--and home workers also fill out a weekly report to the project director, who himself files a monthly report. In this way, the needs of families are quickly identified and a plan for effective involvement with families can be devised. Program planners are interested in three areas in evaluating the program: in the impact of the program on the family, on the child in school or other institution, and on the neighborhood.

Mr. Kreisler also spoke about plans for new home intervention programs for children from birth to one year of age, based on programs developed in the United States at the Peabody Institute and in Appalachia. Other early intervention projects now being conducted in Israel included Grandma-Baby projects, where groups of grandmothers--senior citizens drawn from the welfare population--make educational games and toys for children. An instruction manual for this project, written by one of the grandmothers, was being prepared at the time of our visit.

In Kiryat Shmonah, a development town near the Lebanese border, where 70% of the population is from North African background, we met Rafi Amram, director of the community center, where a home intervention program is in effect.

Mr. Amran, who himself was born in Morocco, came to Israel at the age of 10, and to Kiryat Shmonah, about two years ago. Like Dr. Nir, he spoke of the original concept of creating an "Israeli" culture--to make one people from diverse cultures. "Now," he said, "we realize that maybe it can't be done and shouldn't be done." In Kiryat Shmonah, too, he said, programs are sponsored to reinforce cultural ties and to combat the tension under which families in such border towns live.

Mr. Amram explained that the community center had not been widely used in the past in the four to five-mile-long community so "Now we bring the activities to the people." This is done primarily through a block worker approach, discussed earlier in this report. He described the block workers in Kiryat Shmonah as paraprofessional community workers, usually housewives from the same ethnic origins, who have had at least 10 grades of school and possess "much common sense."

The block workers, who are paid by the community center, are told they are to be "our eyes and our ears in the neighborhood." They are there to learn to identify problems and to integrate services already offered in the community. The block workers here receive training through a course developed by Haifa University and they also meet weekly--as group members and individually--with a professional social worker, under the system described by Mr. Kreisler.

Although a major focus of the program is work with mothers of large families, the community center also employs volunteer educational games counselors. In this project, where counselors were meeting with 60 families in the community, a counselor usually works with two children in each family, using the games she brings with her to help children develop language and measurement skills, learn to identify colors, etc. Since many parents are not aware of the value of playing with their children, one of the aims of the program is to get the parents--and other family members--involved in doing so. Here, too, it was found that mothers were not telling their children stories or singing to them because they felt that the stories and songs they knew from their childhoods were not suitable and they did not know others.

At the time of our visit the community center was also planning to open four day care centers in which parents would be expected to participate every 10 days. (Parent involvement, we later learned, is being stressed in the two courses conducted at the Hebrew University to train directors and teachers who will be working in day care and early childhood programs in community centers. In addition to a requirement that parents of children accepted will spend some time working in them as teachers' aides, the programs usually also offer bimonthly meetings for parents, consisting of workshops or discussion groups and emphasizing games and other activities parents and children can perform together).

Other Programs

Other programs that teach parents the value of playing games with their children are conducted throughout Israel. One, called the Games Room Program, was among those discussed during our visit with members of the faculty of the School of Social Work at Bar-Ilan University. This program is planned both to help parents teach children concepts of color, shape, form, design, coordination, etc. and to stimulate other parent-child activities. Parents may attend an evening course in the games' program and then continue to visit the toy-lending library to borrow toys to take home. The parents are recruited by workers who visit kindergartens, well-baby clinics and other meeting places and through referrals by social workers.

A different kind of opportunity for mothers to learn more about child development and childrearing is offered through the Washing Machine Club program, which was initiated five years ago. Under this project, washing machines are installed in community centers, apartment houses and other meeting places, and a leader provided who can discuss family concerns with the women. Again, this program is designed for mothers of large families from immigrant groups. Although many of these mothers may have lived in Israel for as long as 20 years, most were still isolated at home according to traditional Eastern cultural roles. While most husbands would not approve of wives having outside activities, they do not object to their leaving the home for the washing machine center. About 1,000 women were participating in one such club, we were told, which offered classes in Hebrew, sewing, household economics and problems of childrearing.

Another project is a series of discussion groups where mothers of five or more children meet once a week for half an hour with a psychologist. One such course was being held in a community center in Tel Aviv which we visited and we learned that such projects are also held at mixed centers for Arab and Jewish mothers. Here the focus of discussion is to help mothers build a better image of themselves, as well as to offer opportunities to talk about their family life and problems.

Still another way of helping parents is being developed. At the time of our visit, educational television, an independent unit in the Ministry of Education and Culture, was producing its first programs on child-rearing, aimed at disadvantaged parents. It was planned to show the programs--the first of their kind in Israel--during the early morning and after working hours in the coming year.

Finally, a very different program about which we learned reaches mothers of large families. This is the six-year old program under which 10-day summer vacation day camps are sponsored by women's organizations (like Pioneer Women), community centers and other groups, with some funding from government agencies, for mothers of four or more children. In 1975, 100 such camps were operating, with about 6,000 mothers drawn from Jewish and Arab communities in attendance. Their preschool-aged children--numbering about 7,000--also attended camp, either with their mothers or nearby. In addition to offering much needed rest and relaxation for the mothers, the camps are designed "to educate and to spur the mothers to community involvement" through classes, discussion and visits to municipal and national offices.

ARAB EDUCATION

David B. Orr

This paper briefly summarizes the findings of one member of the ESS study mission to Israel with respect to the area of Arab education. The study of Arab education in Israel was not the focal point of our trip, but rather just one of many interesting facets of what, for me, was a broad, first exposure to this fascinating country. Thus, neither the experiences provided, nor the impressions gleaned, are really comprehensive or systematic. The Israelis whose comments form the bais for these impressions, and their affiliations, are as follows:

Prof. S. Mar'i, Head, Institute for Research and Development of Arab Education, University of Haifa

Mr. Munir Do'av, Director of the Community Center, Tamra Village (Arab village)

Hon. Shalom Levin, Member of the Knesset and Secretary of the Israel Teachers' Union

Dr. Chanan Rapaport, Director, Henrietta Szold Institute, National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences

Dr. Chaim Adler, Director, Research Institute for Innovative Education, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Hon. Avraham Katz, Chairman, Education Committee of the Knesset

Hon. Elad Peled, Director-General, Ministry of Education and Culture

Hon. Eliezer Shmueli, Deputy Director-General, Ministry of Education and Culture

The Arab segment of the Israeli citizenry is a significant group, about 500,000 of the 3-1/2 million Israelis. Of these, about 80% are Moslems and 10-15% Christians. These figures, of course, do not include those Arabs living in the Administered (Occupied) Territories. The annexation of these Territories which would bring in over a million additional Arabs, would greatly extend the significance and severity of the Arab education problem, which is one of the reasons that many Israelis are reluctant to proceed with such an annexation.

The education of the Arab population is a major problem primarily because of two factors. First, most of the Arabic population comes from what may be described as "developmental" societies. That is, these societies tend to be somewhat backward in sociocultural ways. Their distribution of social goods and educational opportunities is unequal and they practice sex discrimination with respect to education and social roles. They also use corporal punishment on children. Furthermore, the illiteracy rate tends to be extremely high (over 80%) and they are frequently disadvantaged in several ways. Economically they tend to be from a less prosperous portion of Israel. Secondly, in addition to their developmental status the Arabs are a national minority, and more than that, a minority from countries which are actively antagonistic toward Israel. So, many of the problems of educating Israeli Arabs stem from these two underlying difficulties.

Further problems stem from language. The Arab population speaks Arabic, while the Israeli nation is fully committed to the national language, Hebrew. Thus, it is necessary to teach the Arabs full competency in a second language in order for them to become fully participating Israeli citizens. This is complicated further by the fact that some 95% of the Arab citizenry live separately from the Jews in closely knit, relatively homogeneous villages. In fact, many villages are composed mostly of a few large "families" or clanships (in Tamra, for example, one clan consists of 3,000 of the total 12,000 persons in the village). This tends to dilute the influence of language teaching and perpetuates the inherent divergence of the two populations.

Compulsory education laws are difficult to enforce, since they tend to run counter to the socio-cultural norms, particularly for women. While Israel has no sex (or other) discriminatory policies, it has no non-discrimination laws either. As a consequence, there is probably considerable discrimination. For example, for the Arab students, the ratio of females to males in elementary school is 42 to 58%; it drops to 25 to 75% in secondary school, and is even lower in the university. This is, of course, an attribute of a traditional society, not the result of official policy.

Another difficulty is the shortage of teachers willing and able to work in the Arab villages. Two seminars are being held in Jerusalem to train Arab teachers, but this is probably not enough.

Further difficulties arise in terms of Arab expectations associated with education. The lack of a real cultural tradition in education for most of the Arab population has necessitated the creation of a compulsory education system new to their experience. In addition, those who progress through this system often reject vocational education in favor of the less economically viable and more academic pursuits. For example, while 52% of all Israeli elementary students are in vocational education, only 10% of Arabic students are, partly because of the fact that Jewish education is funded in part by voluntary contributions and the Arabs are either too disadvantaged to support Arabic education with similar contributions or are reluctant to do so. But also, and probably more importantly, this is so because Arabs don't tend to choose blue-collar jobs, and therefore the Arabic system doesn't have much vocational education in general. However, a recent study showed that 70% of Arab parents would support vocational education if it were available, and the Ministry of Education may now see the investment in vocational education for the Arabs as a worthwhile one.

The concern for Arab education arises partly out of a concern for the education of the larger "disadvantaged" group. Disadvantaged is defined as having poorly educated parents, coming from a large family, and/or having a high rate of illiteracy. (For example, in Tamra Village the illiteracy rate is about 70%.)

Some 80% of Israeli Arabs live in rural areas which have a relatively high level of disadvantagement. (However, one source indicated that in his opinion the real issue with respect to these Arabs is not their educational level but the fact that they are split between two worlds--the Arab and the Israeli worlds--and that school probably can't change this condition).

The Arab education system is as autonomous as the secular and religious Jewish educational systems. Formally, the allocation of money by the government for Arabs and Jews is equal (about 650 pounds per capita), but effectively the money spent on the two may not be equal at some levels. For example, since the Arabs are less advantaged generally, the parents of Arab children are less able to contribute in terms of supporting the secondary, non-compulsory level of education (ages 15-17) and in terms of making community contributions to the support of the school system. In addition, the typical Jewish community contributes to the physical plant and to the operation and maintenance of the physical plant; but if the community is less advantaged, as are most Arab communities, then these facilities are not as good.

It is difficult for an educated Arab to find a meaningful position in Israel. This is not primarily a matter of discrimination against Arabs but more a matter of cultural, traditional and background factors. There seems to be a possibility that the more successful Arab education is, the more it increases the difficulties for the Arabs in terms of fitting in to what is basically a Western, Jewish-run society--and these difficulties may indeed lead to an exodus of the intelligent, educated Arabs to other countries.

One wonders to what extent there really is discrimination on the part of the ruling Jewish class against the Arabs, and to what extent disadvantagement is concealed by the geopolitical situation and the security problem. In any case, as I have noted, most of Jewish officialdom is against the annexation of the occupied territories (e.g., the West Bank and Gaza) because it would create a large minority of Arabs which would be basically indigestible in the Jewish society.

One of the major effects of investing more money in Arab education, apparently, is to reduce the exceptionally high birthrate among these groups (and thus hold down their proportions in the population). Again, it seems to me, improved and extended Arab education may yield increased disintegration because of the difficulty of social integration of this group into Israeli society. There is obviously considerable pressure on the Arab population both internally and externally not to integrate with the Jewish society and the economy because of its cultural and traditional identification with other Arab countries.

A question was asked on how Israel promotes an over-arching citizenship. The answer was not very good. Basically, the answer is: "It's a problem." The Jews have some trouble handling this because here they are a majority as opposed to their cultural history of being a minority. They are a majority with respect to the population within the culture, while the minority, the Arabs, is a majority with respect to the surrounding countries. There is some problem in orienting individuals toward Israeli citizenship when their identity group is a minority within Israel and a majority outside of Israel. The Israelis would like the minority to keep its heritage but to be loyal to Israel. This is difficult also because the Arabs are bombarded daily by the outside Arab majority over radio and TV from neighboring Arab countries.

The extent and severity of the problems described in the preceeding section is such that there is little hope of full or immediate solutions. However, the Israelis feel that they are making progress on a number of fronts, albeit slowly. This section summarizes some of the programs which are underway to deal with one or more of the problems described above.

The general solution conceived by the Israelis is to try to foster the maintenance of Arab culture, while simultaneously relieving disadvantagement and stimulating the economic and political integration of this segment of the population. This is a tall order, and much of the burden of the attempt falls on the educative process, with only modest success.

For example, although there is a shortage of qualified teachers who can teach in Arabic, Arabic education proceeds in the Arabic language in the first and second grades. The students then begin to study Hebrew in the third grade, and English in the fifth and sixth. However, one source regarded this teaching as not terribly effective; after ten years of Hebrew, many Arabs come to the university unable to use Hebrew in their studies. He attributed this to poor teaching techniques--very traditional teaching techniques.

Haifa University has 50% or so of all the Arab university students in Israel, primarily because of its location in the northern, more Arabic portion of the country. This comes to about 600 students. We asked what the university does for these students that is different, and the answer was "Very little." They are held to the same university standards as the other students although there is an Arabic counselor available who helps them with minor problems and in selecting areas of specialization, etc. Recently, however, Haifa has developed audiovisual approaches to teaching Hebrew, and the language problem is somewhat improved.

Essentially, Arabs and Jews go to different elementary schools in different school systems. This is justified on the basis of language, culture, and the fact that they are really from different nations, living in geographically separate areas. This will probably remain this way, at least on the elementary level, although more integrated schools may arise at the high school level. (There is, in fact, one integrated high school in Haifa at the present time. Jews, Arabs and Druses all attend, but they attend in separate classes in order to preserve their culture and religion.) With respect to curriculum differences, there are no differences in the secular curricula to which the Arabs and the Jews are exposed, although there are obviously differences in cultural history, religion, language, etc. Probably the Arabs learn more about the Jewish tradition in the schools than the other way around.

Another program which is having some impact on Arab education, although not across the board, is the community center program in Israel. We visited the Center in Tamra Village, which is one of many which have sprung up in the past few years. Center activities are geared to the needs of the particular communities in which they are located, but the one at Tamra is probably generally representative. Its emphasis is on creating a breakthrough in the old anti-education, socio-cultural roles and traditions. It does this by emphasizing evening school activities, social activities, day camps, and arts and sports. For example, one of the areas that they are most proud of is the evening school, which has been set up as part of the educational activities, particularly for those who missed high school. The goal here is to enable students to take the matriculation examination for high school. Literature courses, English, Hebrew, math and Arabic are among the subjects taught. There are two possible certificates: a 10-year pre-matriculation certificate and the regular 12-year certificate. Illiteracy here is mostly confined to the women and older men. It is partly culturally derived. At the time of our visit, only men were attending the evening school, which had about 50 students.

There are a number of reasons why few women attend. First, the facilities are located at the edge of the village, so it is some distance for them to walk. Second, it is a conservative Moslem village and such activities by women are not seemly. Third, children are home in the afternoons and evenings when the courses are more likely to be offered. Fourth, there are not enough trained teachers. And, fifth, there is some problem in convincing the women that it is an "appropriate" activity for them.

Traditionally, girls tended to drop out of school at about marriage age--usually when they were in the 5th or 6th grade--though at the present time the attendance of girls in the regular school is much better than it used to be.

The educational level of the village is quite low. There are only 135 fully matriculated high school graduates in the population of 12,000, and only six university graduates.

Of course, much in the sections of this report which pertains to education of the disadvantaged also applies to Arab education, because of the high proportion of disadvantagement among this group. Most speakers agreed that much effort should go to the disadvantaged sector, including the education of parents among the disadvantaged. One source would like to raise elementary grades one and two from their current four hours per day to six hours per day. He would like to attract better teachers to the development towns and other economically and socially deprived areas. He indicated that the best teachers should be sent to these locations since the parents, being disadvantaged, are not able to fill in the gaps in the children's education, as more advantaged parents can. This would require making conditions of employment more attractive in such locations.

Finally, as a matter of practicality and general concern, there is some effort to introduce compulsory Arabic for all Israeli students. Hebrew is the first language, English is the second, and up until recently there was a choice of French and Arabic. Before the Six-Day War, most chose French. However, next year the Israelis hope to make Arabic compulsory in every primary school. The problem is how to get sufficient teachers. There are special courses in Arab villages in parochial or street Arabic and Jewish teachers are studying there in order to become Arabic instructors.

Conclusions

I think that the Israelis are sincere in their attempt to improve the lot of their Arab citizens through education, even though there is a very real chance that such educated Arabs may become even more "disintegrated" than they are now. The Israelis, through their long history as a minority, are very sensitive to the importance of national culture and traditions and, I think wisely, have chosen to maintain the Arabic culture while fostering improved economic and political integration of the Arab population. One source stated that a goal of Israeli education was to have all groups represented in school in proportion to their representation in the population at large. And, though it doesn't work out equally, there is apparently little discrimination in terms of government support for Arab vs. Jewish education.

In face of the massive problems which exist in this area, the Israelis have made commendable progress. However, strains of budget, lack of sufficient evaluation, and the inherently sticky nature of the problems involved have combined to make their progress only modest. In many cases, such as language learning, educational techniques are outmoded, facilities are skimpy, and well-trained personnel are in short supply.

The Jews had a separate educational system prior to 1948. After the War of Liberation it continued and expanded into the present system. On the other hand, the Arab population in the Israeli areas had no such prior system, so that Israel has had to create a new system of Arab education, which is therefore somewhat short on tradition, culture and background.

In describing the circumstances, one of our sources admitted that Israeli education has been "understandably" less than successful in educating the Arabs, but he stressed the fact that there has been great improvement. For example, 60% of the teachers in Arab education are today fully qualified as compared to only 10% in 1948; instruction is carried on in Arabic; and Arabic religious traditions are taught to encourage internal development on the part of the Arab communities.

As another source noted, Arab education in Israel is probably as good as it is anywhere, with the possible exception of the West Bank where, as a consequence of the high job demand in the oil Sheikdoms, something on the order of 3% of the students graduate in higher education versus about 3/10ths of one percent in Israel.

INSTRUCTIONAL TELEVISION

Arthur S. Kirschenbaum

The audience sees a typical Western villain, a typical Western hero, with his typical side-kick, and a typical damsel in distress. It is not watching a re-run of an early Hollywood movie, but a specially made production of the Instructional Television Center in Israel. The program is in English, and although its prime purpose is the teaching of English, it is also intended to convey some understanding of the American West, the technique of moviemaking, and the use of humor as a teaching device.

This represents only one program in a wide array that is available in Israel for instructional television use. There are specific programs from kindergarten through the end of the secondary level, covering a wide variety of subjects, including math, art, civics, music, vocational subjects and technical drawing. Also available are programs on counseling and guidance and special events for teachers. Current events programs on such topics as drug addiction, intended to stimulate schoolroom discussion, and special programs for new immigrant parents to assist them in childrearing are also part of the broadcast schedule.

Dr. Ya'acov Lorberbaum, Director of the Instructional Television Center, Tel Aviv, concurs with current educational thought that television can enhance education. Instructional television on an operational scale has been in existence in Israel only about seven years and Dr. Lorberbaum explained that even the existing system is not now being utilized to the fullest potential.

Dr. Lorberbaum firmly believes that in order for television to be effective, each teacher should be able to use it in his own way, adjusting it to the specific problems the teacher faces with his own students. He stated, "It takes a long time to realize that you can be the master of the material that is presented by a small box." In order to implement this understanding, the Center conducts in-service training for teachers throughout the year. The transition to a decentralized educational system will affect instructional television, he believes. "Not only a section or a district in Israel, but the school and the teacher should be autonomous in their approach in using this medium," he said. Most teachers are not ready for this, however, nor have they been trained to exercise this degree of autonomy. It requires time for a teacher to prepare to be autonomous and since, due to the economic situation, teachers generally work at more than one job they do not have the time to prepare themselves.

Television is not meant to replace the teacher, but to augment his own teaching. Ideally, television should highlight various goals to be achieved in a course, but the transition from television to learning is the teacher's responsibility. The situation is unique for each teacher in each class. The center prepares teachers' guide books for the various television programs, giving step-by-step directions on how to reach these goals, but the guides "should be a frame of reference to use or not to use, to take out an idea to use in his own way, to use or not to use everything that is presented by television." This is the more creative approach that should be used by an autonomous teacher, Dr. Lorberbaum believes.

The key to the effective use of television is through the training of teachers. The Center admitted that it has not found a consistent correct way to train teachers. The supply of teachers is adequate, but it includes a percentage of non-certified teachers. It was also conceded that some certified teachers are not qualified.

Instructional television is on the air from 8:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., with a break from 2:00 to 4:00 p.m. The reason offered as an explanation for the break was a shortage of quality programs. Dr. Lorberbaum explained, "If you have nothing to say, don't say it." General television is broadcast over the same channel from 5:30 p.m. until midnight. All broadcasts are in black and white only.

The slow development of instructional television in Israel can be attributed to a variety of reasons. Initially, the use of television in general was opposed by the late Prime Minister David Ben Gurion. Use of satellites, color and cable all involve new capital expenditures, and the use of a language--Hebrew--that is spoken only in Israel precludes large-scale importation of programs produced outside of Israel.

Currently the Center, which is housed in a modern building near the campus of Tel Aviv University, has 200 employees, exclusive of freelance workers who are used on an as-needed basis. Included among the Center staff is a member who is responsible for teaching English to high school students, Mrs. S. Been, and a section, headed by Mrs. R. Gazith, which is responsible for distributing supplementary TV materials and for training teachers and students in their use.

The Center has a budget of 25 million lirot. This is roughly equivalent, at current exchange rates, to $3½ million in American currency. This amount approximates the annual U.S. Office of Education financial assistance to the Children's Television Workshop, which is responsible for producing "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company." When one considers that the same budget is used to produce a full day's programming for each day of the school year for the whole nation of Israel, this seems a remarkable feat.

No doubt, the elaborate programming used in the United States is absent in Israeli productions, but Israeli television is doing the job that it is intended to do, and that is to effectively supplement schoolroom instruction. More than 85% of the schools use television for English instruction, and 65% for mathematics. Other subjects have less penetration. Schools either have one central television room or a set that gets wheeled from one classroom to another.

With a diversity of cultures within the State of Israel, with the many languages spoken by the new arrivals, with the exposure of diverse Arab cultures from the nearby Arab states, Israel appears to be using television to move closer and closer to Marshall McLuhan's concept of a global village and further away, both in time and reality, from the symbol of communication misunderstanding which originated in the Mideast--the Tower of Babel.

AVAILABILITY, USE AND COPYRIGHTING OF EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

Morton W. Bachrach

As with so many aspects of Israeli education, it is difficult to speak in generalities about text books and other educational materials. Perhaps the key statement was made by Professor Chaim Adler of the Hebrew University when he stated that the Bible is the most important Israeli text book. It is used extensively in the religious schools, which follow the teachings of the Bible, and in the secular schools, which teach about religion. Certainly it involves no copyright, licensing or translation problems.

All instruction in the Jewish elementary and secondary schools is in Hebrew, while instruction in Arab schools is in Arabic. However, the Arab schools must teach Hebrew whereas the Jewish schools are not yet required to teach Arabic, although it is planned to make Arabic compulsory in all elementary schools next year. Certainly, then, there would be need for additional teaching materials and, undoubtedly, the Ministry of Education and Culture would commission them. At Haifa University, we met several persons concerned with Arab education, including one who had written a textbook with funding from the Ministry of Education for use in the Arab schools.

Although the text books which I observed during our visits to Jewish schools were all written in Hebrew, I did notice that, in the vocational high schools, many charts, tables and equipment contained instructions written in English, indicating that those items, or most of them, were obtained in the United States. I assume that the use of English in that manner would cause no difficulty since English is compulsory and most high school students have a familiarity with it. As a matter of fact, I would think such use of English would serve to reinforce students' competence in that language.

Nevertheless, it is apparent that all materials prepared in Israel, for use in Jewish elementary and secondary schools, are in Hebrew, with the exception of materials to be used in the teaching of English and other foreign languages. When we visited the Syngalovski ORT school, we were shown transparencies and instructional manuals in preparation, which were all in Hebrew. Mr. Josef Harmatz, Director General of ORT in Israel, told us that school instructors are encouraged to prepare educational materials for use in the school. These materials are published and copyrighted in the name of ORT, not in the name of the author or the Ministry of Education. Although we did see other books which were copyrighted in the name of the Ministry of Education, the latter books most certainly stemmed from a different arrangement.

It is unusual, in my experience, to see a copyright in the name of a government agency. In the United States, as a general rule, materials which are generated with public funds are either placed in the public domain (not copyrighted) or else are copyrighted in the name of the contractor or grantee (the university, for example) that actually develops the materials. This is not to suggest that all materials commissioned by the Israeli Government are copyrighted in the name of the funding government agency. We were told at Bar-Ilan University that the University is given a free hand with regard to copyrighting and publishing materials generated with government funding. Bar-Ilan does publish some of these materials and the author and the University share in any profits. As far as I could determine, there are no government regulations which control these matters, such as the U.S. Office of Education Copyright Guidelines.

Although all the books that I examined had a copyright notice, I discerned a lack of interest in copyright matters. The reason for this is not clear. However, some indication might be gleaned from the reaction of those involved in educational TV. When I asked if they copyright their programs, the answer was "No." I was reminded that Israel is the only country in the world which speaks Hebrew. Therefore the likelihood of licensing their programs to foreign groups is not very great. Besides, TV in Israel is operated by the state and the problem of competition does not exist. This apparently holds true even for programs designed to teach English. It is felt that the programs needed to teach English to Israeli students would be of little use in other countries. However, I did observe a book supplement for teaching Hebrew by TV which was copyrighted in the name of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

We were told that some text books are translated into Hebrew, under license from foreign publishers, when the books are outstanding, but I obtained no sense of the extent of such activities. Students are required to purchase their own books.

The text book situation in the universities is very different from that in the elementary and secondary schools. Although most instruction in the universities is in Hebrew, most of the text books (about 90%) are in English and come from the United States and Great Britain. That means, of course, that a student must have a good command of both languages in order to cope with the university program.

We visited libraries at Bar-Ilan University, Haifa University and Ben Gurion University and observed books in many languages, including Hebrew, English, French and Arabic. This was not surprising in light of the fact that Hebrew and English are required for pre-college studies and that French and Arabic are optional.

At Bar-Ilan University, we were told by the director of the central library that the library normally purchases four or five copies of each text book needed by the students. In contrast with the system in the United States, Israeli university students do not ordinarily purchase their own text books. Because the cost of text books amounts to about 20% of the tuition costs, books are either loaned to the students or else used in the library.

In Kiryat Shmonah, Rafi Amram, director of the community center, said that educational games, intended to help disadvantaged youngsters, had been developed at the Weizmann Institute. I was unable to obtain additional information on that matter. In one quick glance into the toy cabinet of one community center room, I recognized LEGOS toys.

Dissemination of information and materials in Israel is not, apparently, the difficult problem that it is in the United States, since Israel is a smaller and more closely knit nation. Israeli curriculum is determined by a single national bureau. The universities are few and professors, particularly researchers, generally know one another and who is working on what problem. One effort to consolidate Israel's knowledge base is to be undertaken at the Henrietta Szold Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences. Dr. Hanan Rappaport, the director, told us that the Institute intends to establish an ERIC-like system encompassing all Israeli research results. (ERIC is the system in the United States, operated by the National Institute of Education, which collects and disseminates literature in the general area of education.)

EDUCATION COSTS FOR PARENTS

Stephen M. Kraut

The Israeli educational system places a greater financial burden on the parents of a student than does the American system. Israeli education is free only from kindergarten through the ninth grade; preschool, the top three grades of secondary school, 10 through 12, and postsecondary school, be it technical school or university, are not. However, while tuition is charged for preschool and secondary school there is a sliding rate based on the ability of the student's parents to pay. Accordingly, over 60% of the students have their educational costs entirely paid by the central government, while less than 20% of the students pay between 80% and 100% of the tuition costs. The sole measurement used to determine a family's ability to pay is the parents' income. The asset position of the family is not taken into account in making this determination.

In the area of higher education, all students are charged tuition and all students attending an institution of higher education are charged the same rate of tuition. Israeli higher education financial assistance, like the federal program of student financial assistance in the United States, is awarded exclusively on the basis of financial need. However, federal financial assistance in the United States includes grants (Basic Educational Opportunity Grant and Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grant Program), work (the College Work-Study Program) and loans (the Guaranteed Student Loan and National Direct Student Loan Programs). Financial assistance in Israel in the field of higher education is limited to grants. However, the provision of this assistance is not made under a government grant program as it is in the United States. Each institution of higher education in Israel has its budget approved by the central government with a specific amount of funds in that school's budget set aside for grants.

Students attending Israeli institutions of higher education are generally three years older than comparable students in the United States because students, from the age of 18, must spend three years in the Army. (In Israel a baccalaureate degree is awarded in three rather than four years). In spite of this fact, except for much older students the concept of an "independent student" as it is known in the American student financial assistance community is practically unknown in Israel. An independent student in the United States is one who has broken his dependency ties with his mother and father to the extent that it would be unreasonable to expect those parents to contribute to their child's educational costs. However, in Israel in almost every case a student's parents are expected to contribute towards their child's educational costs. Moreover, the amount expected to be contributed by Israeli parents is much greater than that expected of American parents in a comparable economic situation.

TIPAT HALAV: BACKGROUND AND ADMINISTRATIVE OVERVIEW

Alice Hersh

The first Tipat Halav or Mother and Child Health (MCH) Clinic was established by Henrietta Szold of the Hadassah Medical Organization in 1921 in the Old City of Jerusalem. In the 30s, additional clinics were sponsored by the Municipality of Tel Aviv and the major sick fund in Israel, Kupat Holim. By 1948, these clinics numbered around 120 and at present there are close to 700. The great majority are operated by the Ministry of Health, but some are funded by Kupat Holim, the municipalities of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, and Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America.

MCH Centers were originally conceived to treat trachoma in children, but a broader focus soon became necessary: to fight malnutrition, treat illness and give immunizations to all children. With improving health conditions--rampant malaria, smallpox and trachoma had for the most part been eradicated and malnutrition was no longer a major problem, at least in the Jewish population--and the development of sick care services through Hadassah and Kupat Holim, the focus of Tipat Halav changed drastically. It ceased providing sick care and today provides preventive care to pregnant mothers and to children through age five.

Before continuing the discussion of Tipat Halav and the clinics we visited, it is useful to digress briefly and look very generally at the broader system of health services in Israel and the role of the Ministry of Health within this system.

The Israeli Ministry of Health, the successor to the Department of Health of the British Mandatory Government, was formed in 1948. Under the British, the government played a limited role in providing health services to the Israeli population. Efforts focused on malaria control and the establishment of some limited preventive and curative health services, mostly for the Arab population.

The Jewish community began filling the void by establishing its own health services. Immediately following World War I, the Hadassah Medical Organization was founded to provide both preventive and curative services. Hadassah built its own hospitals and clinics, most of which were later turned over to the local governments. Public health education was a top priority and public health nurses played a crucial role. Presently, Hadassah finances 4.3% of Israel's expenditures in health.

Kupat Holim originated about the same time as Hadassah. Run by the General Federation of Labor (the Histadrut) since 1920, Kupat Holim was originally established and controlled for nine years by a small group of agricultural workers. Today, it insures over 80% of the Israeli population and covers those in professions and occupations of all types. Kupat Holim physicians are salaried, members pay monthly dues and most services are provided in Kupat Holim-owned clinics and hospitals. Paying for almost 41% of total expenditures, Kupat Holim is the largest purchaser of curative health services in Israel today.

With Hadassah and Kupat Holim well established by 1948, the new Israeli Ministry of Health saw its role as one of coordination and filling in the gaps. As stated by an official Ministry publication, Health Services in Israel (1968), the Ministry serves as the "supreme authority in all matters relating to health and... the licensing body for all the medical and allied professions." The two major divisions of the Ministry are Curative Services and Public Health. The former is responsible for operating all government hospitals and for licensing and supervising non-governmental facilities. Hence, even though most hospitals are not operated by the Ministry, the Ministry performs an oversight function for all.

Prior to 1948, preventive services were minimal. The Ministry took the lead in this area and established a large division responsible for public health and preventive care. Offices within this division include Nutrition, Mental Health, Health Education, Mother and Child Health, Dental Health, Occupational Health and Environmental Sanitation. The Ministry is responsible for 33% of total health expenditures, but it buys almost 58% of all preventive services. In comparison, the second largest purchaser, the municipalities, cover 23% of the preventive costs and Kupat Holim around 15%. Most of the activities of the Public Health Division are carried out at the district and sub-district level. (There are six districts and 16 sub-districts). The main office in Jerusalem acts as the coordinator between offices at headquarters and the various agencies in the field. Field offices are given significant latitude, but all are ultimately responsible to the Regional Services Administration of the Ministry in Jerusalem.

The Tipat Halav clinics serve as a good example of the Ministry's commitment to prevention. The responsibility of the Office of Mother and Child Health, these clinics are an integral part of every neighborhood and settlement in Israel. When a new neighborhood is built, the MCH Center is automatically included in the plans and constructed along with the apartments. In fact, most Israelis live within walking distance of their clinic and utilization rates are exceptionally high. Upwards of 90% of the population use the clinics for prenatal and well-child care.

The Ministry provides guidance, broad supervision and funding for the clinics. Guidelines are established and must be adhered to by all, but beyond requiring basic standards and services, the clinics have the flexibility to initiate those programs which are most appropriate for their service population. From what the Tipat Halav nurses told us, there seems to be little trouble in securing new staff or funds--within limits--for new programs.

Ministry funding levels vary from clinic to clinic. The Ministry is usually the major contributor, but some degree of cost-sharing with the local government is required. Some clinics receive money from the national lottery. Decisions as to how much each party will contribute are made on an individual basis by the Ministry. A small amount of revenue is also generated through a minimal fee charged to utilizers. Although the fee is very small and no effort is made to collect from those too poor to pay, everyone we spoke with seemed to feel that it was important psychologically to have some cost, as minimal as it might be, attached to the service.

We visited three Tipat Halav Clinics and spoke with the head nurse of each. The first clinic was located in Bat Yam, a suburb of Tel Aviv. We met with Mrs. Zipora Noy, the head nurse, and Hava Peri, another nurse in the clinic. The second clinic we visited was in a suburb of Haifa, Neve Sha'anan, and there we spoke with Mrs. Zviya Arnon. Finally, we went to a very new clinic in Neve Ya'acov, a suburb of Jerusalem, where we spoke with Gardena Avner.

All three communities were middle-class and all had young populations with many new immigrant families. The facilities were roughly equivalent. Each was well-equipped and spacious, but also very plain by American standards. The Bat Yam Tipat Halav was about a year old and when we were there preparations were being made for the official "opening" by the Ministry of Health. Neve Ya'acov had an extremely new clinic—so new that the parking lot hadn't been paved yet.

Clinic staff are employed by the Ministry and paid on a salary basis. Public health nurses are the major providers and the only full-time professionals on staff. A pediatrician visits several times a month, but the exact frequency varies from clinic to clinic. Other health personnel such as psychologists and psychiatrists may also make periodic visits, but that too varies with each clinic.

The public health nurse in Israel is the most highly trained of all the nurses. Over and above the three years of post-high school education that all RN's receive, the public health nurse studies for nine additional months learning child development, psychology, etc. Moreover, before beginning to work at Tipat Halav, she must take a six-week course, usually taught by the head nurse of the clinic. All public health nurses also attend continuing education courses every other week. These classes or workshops are generally held in one of the MCH centers in the district.

The nurses we met were most impressive. They were dedicated to their job, very perceptive and exceptionally knowledgeable. In contrast to the Tipat Halav clinics, Kupat Holim employs no public health nurses, some RN's with the full three years of training, but also many practical nurses with only a year and a half to two years of training.

The official Ministry standard states that each clinic should be staffed with one nurse for every 250 families--family size notwithstanding. The clinics we visited were slightly understaffed by the Ministry standard, but not terribly overburdened.

The nurses have no support staff. They must do all the paper work themselves and from what we saw, it was significant. Most clinics are only open in the morning, leaving nurses free in the afternoons for paper work, home visits and continuing education. It was interesting that the nurses didn't complain about being responsible for clerical duties and, in fact, Mrs. Avner viewed the administrative tasks as an integral part of her job since it enabled her to keep tabs on all the children--how often they came in, whether or not they had received all their immunizations, etc.

The nurse provides a broad range of services for the mother and child. She is a trusted and often consulted advisor, counselor and general confidant who is called upon to answer day-to-day questions regarding child care, growth and development as well as to serve as psychologist and marriage counselor, when necessary.

Most of the services are provided in the clinic, but the nurses also make home visits. In the early days, when most of the homes were without plumbing and running water, the nurses made frequent home visits to teach mothers basic sanitation techniques and to ensure that conditions were as healthy as possible for the children. Today, home visits are not so crucial. The major exception is that the nurse will always visit the home when a new baby is born to check that everything is going well and to provide necessary assistance. After that, home visits are made if a mother has difficulty getting to the clinic because of other sick children, if the mother seems insistent, or if the nurse feels it is necessary for some other reason.

The strength and success of Tipat Halav stems from several sources (see the next report for a more complete discussion), but clearly one reason for its success relates to the program's flexibility in providing a service needed and wanted by the Israeli population.

Over the past 50 years, Tipat Halav has grown and evolved until today it provides a much larger package of services than was originally provided by Henrietta Szold in the Old City. The evolution is on-going, as can be seen by the recent addition of services for the elderly--those aged 65 and over. The service--health screening and monitoring of chronic diseases--has proved successful and is gradually being expanded. What directions the program will take in the future are as yet uncertain, but if history tells us anything, we can be sure that the program will not remain static for long.

LINKING FAMILIES TO HEALTH SERVICES: TOWARD A PROGRAM THAT WORKS

Wendy Lazarus

General Impressions of Tipat Halav

Having taken a close look at a program of preventive health services for poor children in the United States, I was curious to see how Israel had undertaken a similar task. The glimpses I got of Israel's Mother and Child Health program were vastly different from findings in this country. Several facts about Israel's program reflect its success. In the five communities where we visited health clinics, we first asked residents for help in finding the clinic. In each case, we talked to the first person we happened to see in the area and virtually everyone--old and young alike--knew the name "Tipat Halav"(literally "a drop of milk") and could tell us precisely where the clinic was. Statistics confirm that these clinics are universally known and used. In the areas we visited, an estimated 95% of families with young children go to the clinic for health advice and routine services. In one clinic we were told that 90% of the clinic appointments given are kept (compared to between 60% and 70% in one federal preventive health program in the United States--the Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis and Treatment Program for children of low-income families), and that the reason is that the family members want what the clinic offers. The impressions we got from the health sector were reinforced by comments from a variety of Israelis working in other fields--social workers, educators and non-professionals. The consensus was that of all Israel's experiments in providing human services, this program is clearly one that "works." Improved national statistics related to maternal and child health support their views.

Our impressions must be qualified. We saw only bits of a national program and one whose shape is very different in each of the several hundred health centers throughout the country. But we did see centers in very different settings and talked to staff at neighborhood, municipal and state levels. We came away very impressed and with the clear opinion that there are specific elements of the program which have made it work and which Americans ought to study.

Factors behind the Success

Circumstances in Israel may make it easier than in the United States to reach families with preventive and routine health services. The population is small; there are relatively few births a year; the country is compact--and the task seems manageable. But a closer look at the country's Mother and Child Health Program makes clear that Israel's success is not simply the result of these circumstances.

The job of promoting health for mothers and children has not been easy. It is not necessary here to describe the waves of new settlers to the country who brought with them varied diseases, little knowledge and much misinformation about nutrition and sanitation, and, in many cases, cultural practices which operated against good hygiene and health.

At first glance, the Mother and Child Health Program is preventive medicine but part of its success stems from the fact that it involves a much broader approach to prevention than ours. Children receive regular preventive medical procedures like immunizations, hearing and vision tests, and periodic physical exams. In addition, nearly every parent knows where to go, or at least where to start, when the child has a suspected health problem or the parent has a question about how to feed or care for the child. The program consists of neighborhood-based centers which are a source of advice and support, not simply for conditions which if unattended could become serious and expensive medical problems but for the whole range of questions and anxieties about a child's growth and development which face nearly every young parent--regardless of his or her education, social background or other factors. In addition, the center serves to link families to other health and social services they need. Starting at the center, family members may be referred to the doctor, hospital, social welfare agency or other appropriate resource. It is a nearby and seemingly trusted first point of contact for help.

This concept of a neighborhood service center emphasizing education and oriented around maternal and child health needs was a central part of the program when it first began as a pilot project. According to the Ministry of Health's history of the program, "the first two nurses in Jerusalem inaugurated a welfare station for maternal and child care and the treatment of trachoma, and they soon learned that their struggle was as much against ignorance as against diseases."[1] Over the years, a tradition was built in which routine preventive health procedures were coupled with an emphasis on counseling and support. Children and new mothers were treated in the context of their family and their neighborhood and the centers' services were tailored accordingly. "The programme, over the years, has become more family-oriented... A comprehensive approach to the needs of the family has been adopted... More time is devoted to home visits, to gain a better understanding of the family and form a closer contact with it. The family, however, is closely bound up with the neighborhood... and the center has, accordingly, taken upon itself to serve the surrounding neighborhood or community... An endeavor is being made to understand the newcomer in relation to his social and cultural background."[2] The willingness and ability to cater to what parents in the neighborhood want is apparent. While a Tipat Halav nurse working in a new immigrant settlement may counsel parents mainly about how to prepare proper food and how to clothe a child, a nurse in an older community works with parents to help nurture cognitive development.

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[1] Th. Grushka (editor), Health Services in Israel, The Ministry of Health, Jerusalem, 1968, p. 253.

[2] Grushka, p. 118.

Trite as it sounds, the centers are truly offering what parents value and the "good word" has apparently spread. Center staff say that getting parents to come to the clinic has never been a problem. This is because, they say, there has been a tradition of preventive health care in Israel. But that tradition seems to have grown because parents are so satisfied with the range of services they receive at the clinic and with the way they are treated. It is interesting, especially as a contrast to practice in this country, that in the few instances in which a pregnant woman or an infant needs care but does not come to the center, the nurse doesn't consider it proper to go to the home and urge the family to come in. She considers that pushy. Instead, she will talk with the family's neighbors or friends whom she knows well and ask them to give the family encouragement. The nurses reported that this approach nearly always works. The preventive tradition we heard so much about clearly did not result from health professionals simply deeming that prevention is important. Along with preventive procedures, like shots and screening tests, parents have received support and advice they value, and because they are appreciative and have spread the word, the professionals haven't had to sell prevention.

In addition to attracting families by word of mouth, the program has an effective system for identifying all newborns in the neighborhood. Virtually all deliveries take place in hospitals, and hospital staff routinely inform clinics of each birth in their service area. Tipat Halav nurses receive a report on each child which includes delivery history and any special problems. Generally, the nurse makes a visit to the home where she is welcome because, in most cases, the mother knows her from visits to the clinic during pregnancy. This begins the series of visits by the family to the clinic, on the recommendation of the nurse, to insure that the child gets immunized and has regular checkups.

Israelis generally don't face the usual problems of access which we have in this country. Each family is within walking distance of a clinic. In certain instances, for example, to get a physical examination by the doctor or vision and hearing tests, children are given appointments. But for most other reasons parents are encouraged to come to the clinic whenever it is convenient.

Clinics are generally not open in the evenings but some are open in the late afternoon after most working women finish their jobs. Interestingly, other institutions in Israel help make it easy for families who want to use the clinic. For example, working mothers are given time off by their employers when their child is scheduled to see the doctor . Waiting time in the clinic is not generally a deterrent. Most centers have play areas and toys for kids and mothers are apt to find themselves waiting with friends from the area. When a nurse thinks she will need to spend a lot of time with a mother or child she will set up an appointment for a later time if others are waiting to be seen.

Parents don't have to deal with the inconvenient fragmentation of health services many face in the United States because in Israel there is not a rigid division between well-child services and sick care. Although the centers do provide mainly routine preventive care and counselling, no one who comes to Tipat Halav with a problem is turned away. The nurse talks to any child or pregnant mother and can provide treatment in a few instances. For example, she is authorized to give iron to pregnant mothers. When she cannot handle a problem, she will ask the parent to return when the doctor is in or, more often, will refer the family to a doctor or hospital of the Kupat Holim. Often she helps set up the appointment.

An emphasis on continuity of care is consciously built into the program in several ways. When the nurse refers a mother or child to care outside the center, the nurse takes responsibility for coordinating services from these places and for assuring that the child gets what is needed. Generally, she receives a report from the doctor or hospital staff once they have seen a patient she has referred. Secondly, most Tipat Halav nurses spend part of their time as school nurses, stationed at the school one or two days per week. Most nurses are assigned to families and when a child in the family enters school, he or she will continue to see the same nurse.

Clearly, the nurse is the backbone of this program and part of its success must be credited to the "special breed" which she is--special in terms of the kind of individual who holds these jobs and the type of training she receives. The Tipat Halav nurses we met were extremely energetic and almost missionary in their commitment to helping mothers and babies. They were distinguished by a personal style of warmth and concern and by a special orientation to child development. Most were middle aged because, we learned, the program favors hiring experienced nurses rather than those right out of nursing school. Tipat Halav nurses receive more extensive training than other public health nurses in Israel. Their additional nine months of training after receiving their R.N. degree includes learning how to counsel and work with families and groups and in-depth training in child development and parenting. Once finished with school, nurses are trained with experienced Tipat Halav nurses on the job before taking on families alone.

A Word About Developmental Assessment

One aspect of child health supervision which is presenting serious problems in the United States--developmental assessment--is seemingly being handled very well in some parts of Israel. This is possible because of the special characteristics of Tipat Halav. First, the nurse is specially trained to spot deviations from normal growth and development. Second, developmental assessment is a natural part of the comprehensive and regular supervision which the nurses provide. During the first year of life, the nurse sees an infant an average of 10 to 12 times. Each time she can test "developmental milestones" by asking questions of the parent and by watching the infant. She can observe suspected problems over time without having to rely on observations during a brief one-time encounter. She watches the child's growth and compares it to the standard growth curves, although growth curves can't be used too rigidly in Israel because of the extremely diverse origins of the infants. And she watches the child perform certain functions. For example, babies are given a raisin to pick up, older children are asked to open and close a button, to draw a circle, to stand on one foot, to catch a ball, etc. Because the nurse and the parent generally have a personal relationship, the parent is usually very open and helpful in giving the nurse background information which helps her make accurate judgments about whether further testing and diagnosis is needed.

Further diagnosis can be done in some centers. For example, the Bailey test can be administered when indicated. In addition, several years ago, the Ministry set up a network of about 12 diagnostic and treatment centers. Following the Swedish model, these centers have multi-disciplinary teams who observe and test infants and children in a nursery situation. Once a problem is diagnosed, staff at these child development centers initiate a plan of treatment. This program is still in an experimental stage, funded by the Health Ministry, municipalities and voluntary organizations. The plan is that if the program proves successful, it will be paid for and instituted throughout the country by the Ministry.

Questions for the Future

Successful as it is, there are still serious questions about Tipat Halav. One is being raised by the Health Ministry: whether the program has fostered an unnecessary dependence by families on the clinics. The question is prompted by Israel's current tight financial situation. The Ministry may not be able to support present operating levels and wonders whether specific measures could be taken to target services on high risk families and to discourage low risk families from dependence on the clinic. Since so much of the program's success has depended on encouraging families to value and trust the services, this would be a very delicate undertaking.

As an outside observer, I find myself wondering whether targeting of services is really the best approach given tight funds. I suspect it is possible to offer the same kind and quality of services for much less cost by using different kinds of manpower. At present, highly trained nurses spend much of their time doing fairly straightforward counseling, about food preparation for example, as well as record-keeping and filing. Perhaps trained clerks and health aides could be used more widely. In fact, even if financial constraints were not forcing this question, one serious program question would still be whether Tipat Halav had struck the best balance between personalized care and efficiency.

A FUTURE PERSPECTIVE ON THE SEPHARDIC-ASHKENAZI DIFFERENCES

Harley Frankel

Elsewhere in this document, we discuss the considerable emphasis that the Israeli government is continuing to place on educating its culturally-disadvantaged population. This discussion will not repeat the details of this particular educational strategy, but rather will serve as a commentary on whether the substantial gap between the Sephardic and Ashkenazi populations will be significantly lessened over time.

It should be noted, at the outset, that the Israeli situation is indeed different from the American analogue despite the happenstance of similar nomenclature. The Israeli problem stems primarily from major economic and cultural differences, resulting from two groups of Jews having lived in very different environments for hundreds of years. For example, 25% of the Sephardic young women are currently illiterate; most, in keeping with Moslem tradition, spend the major part of their time in the home. Although both the economic and cultural dimensions intensify the differences in the United States between the Anglo populations and some of our minority groups, racial distinctions such as those relating to our black and Native American populations are not factors in the Israeli situation. Thus, in the view of this observer, the differences between these two Israeli groups are far less complicated and possibly more addressable than in the American analogue, because the latter instance has deep historical roots in centuries of racial prejudice, exploitation, and discrimination. The differences in the United States have been significantly heightened as a result of the dominant population imposing such phenomena as slavery, the uprooting of people from their ancestral lands by force, economic and social exploitation along racial lines, discriminatory practices, violence, etc. upon the affected minority groups.

Nevertheless, the successful resolution of the Sephardic-Ashkenazi "problem" is crucial to the future of Israel. Essentially, the Israelis are faced with the challenge of avoiding a situation whereby the existing social and economic differences rigidify into a permanent split between the haves and the have-nots (á la Lebanon, etc.). Unlike the situation in our country, the disadvantaged state of the Sephardic population in Israel cannot be attributed to actions taken by the more advantaged group. However, unless the current differences within Israel begin to disappear over time, the Sephardic people may begin to attribute some of their plight oppression by the Ashkenazi Jews, thereby threatening the Israeli hope for national unity.

My impression is that the Israelis are more likely than most societies to close this gap for a variety of reasons, including the extensive emphasis the society is placing on educational programs for the disadvantaged. Some of these programs are discussed elsewhere in this document, but it should be noted that they constitute a significant component of a total national social service thrust that reflects the historical Jewish tradition of giving, contributing, promoting social justice and providing service to the community.

Some of the reasons why this observer is optimistic about Israel's prospects of successfully resolving these social problems follow:

1. Education for the Disadvantaged--These programs represent part of a total national commitment to social service programs designed to address the genuine human needs of a significant proportion of the Israeli population. As such, they are far more likely to be successful than tangential, marginal or supplementary efforts that other nations have designed for similar purposes.

2. The Arab Threat--Throughout its existence, Israel has been unsuccessful in its quest for peaceful relationships with its Arab neighbors--none of whom has been willing to end the state of war that has existed since they invaded Israel in 1947-48. As a result of the proximity between Middle Eastern adversaries, the overwhelming Arab superiority in population, military weaponry, and economic wealth, and the realization that one military defeat could well mean the destruction of the Jewish state, the Israelis quite naturally are more concerned with their external threat than with their internal differences. Thus, the external threat to the existence of the society diminishes the sharpness of these internal problems.

3. Economic Levelers--Israel's current defense requirements necessitate extremely high individual income taxes. In addition, salaries throughout the society are somewhat uniform and relatively low. All of these factors combine to make the differences between the Ashkenazi and the Sephardic Jews less visible and, therefore, less of an irritant within the society. Thus, ironically, a by-product of the Israeli economic situation is the contribution it makes towards lessening awareness of internal differences, thereby probably reducing the amount of bitterness and hostility that could be expected in similar circumstances elsewhere.

4. Role of the Army--The Army--inducting virtually all Israeli men and most women at the age of 18--serves as a very significant social integrator. Ashkenazi and Sephardic youngsters live and work

together in the military (in some instances for the first time), resulting in increasingly greater rates of intermarriage (20% last year) and social integration between the two groups. In the opinion of this observer, the Israeli military is an extremely important vehicle in dealing with the existing split within the Israeli Jewish population.

5. Religious Bond--The last factor underlining my optimism could be the strongest--the religious bond that ties together these two groups. Unlike the situation in Lebanon, Northern Ireland, etc., the Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews are brought together by a strong religious/traditional bond--a knot that has survived 2000 years of cruelty, persecution and genocide. These Jews and their ancestors have yearned throughout the difficult period to return to their Middle Eastern homeland, and I suspect that the bond that has held them together for 2000 years is sufficiently strong to allow these two groups to overcome their differences while they work to build one cohesive society.

In conclusion, Israel is confronted with serious cultural and economic divisions between its Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews. This split, if maintained and intensified, could irreparably damage Israel's chances for future internal cohesion. In the opinion of this observer, the Israelis will meet this challenge as a result of a variety of factors, including the provision of quality educational and other social services to its disadvantaged population.

SOME ASPECTS OF WOMEN'S STATUS

Miriam Carliner

Israel, like many other developing countries is a land of sharp contrasts. Even its status as a developing country is belied by its per capita income of over $2,500, comparable to that of Great Britain and exceeded only by the most advanced Western countries. Its society reveals the usual differences between the affluent and the poor, the educated and the illiterate, the skilled and the unskilled, the rural and the urban. But in Israel, peopled with men and women from all parts of the world, the differences seem more pronounced than those in other countries. Within this small land, we could see the Biblical tents of nomads as well as the modern architecture of magnificent museums, universities, and housing developments. There are the mini-skirted girls of Tel Aviv and the veiled women of the Negev's Bedouin. There are the women from the modern world of Madrid, Berlin, Moscow and New York, and the women, both Arab and Jewish, from the medieval world of Islamic countries. There are the women who are lawyers, physicians and scientists, and those who have never been to school. There are the religious women who observe the rituals and injunctions imposed by orthodoxy and there are those who are avowedly agnostic and rarely enter a house of worship.

Against this background of diversity, the women's liberation movement has made scant progress. Israeli women have shown relatively little interest in changing their status. Men are seen as having the major responsibilities in the society at large, and most women are willing to accept the superior rights of men that flow from these responsibilities. For example, an Israeli sociologist found in a recent survey of women's attitudes toward their own image and functions that the majority was "eager to submit to their husbands' superiority" and to see their own and their husbands' functions in traditional sexist terms. The women's major interest centered on the conventional image of the family.

In the face of these attitudes on the part of women, it is no wonder that men are content with the status quo and continue to see women in their traditional roles. Thus, during interviews with a cross section of males in 1972, many echoed a rabbi's view that women are "irresponsible and their place is in the home." Generally, we found on our recent trip to Israel that, to the majority of Israelis, women's status poses no problems and, even when it does, Israel has its hands full with more important issues and "can't be bothered" about the status of women.

Women's status in any society can be seen through women's participation in the labor force and by reviewing certain aspects of the society that may enhance or hinder that status in general and in the labor market in particular. In Israel, women's access to education generally facilitates their participation in the labor force;

to the degree that education is sexually stereotyped it hinders that participation. The traditions of the various ethnic groups within the Israeli population also constitute an important factor that may promote or impede women's progress toward social and economic equality with men. Then there is the kibbutz movement which has, at different times, affected women's status in different ways, while the influence of religion has, on the whole, worked against women's equality. The special legislation affecting women and the services made available to them and their children also play an important role, both positively and negatively, in women's efforts toward equality.

The following sections will briefly examine how these various factors affect women in Israel, although it should be noted that the data on which some of the observations are based are spotty and do not consistently cover the same years.

Participation in the Labor Force

Recent years have seen a rise in women's participation in the general labor force. By 1972, a third of the country's Jewish women were working outside the home, compared to 43% of American women who do so. In the 35-54 age group, when most women are free from caring for preschool children, labor force participation rose from 26% in 1955 to over 35% in 1973. But among women aged 55-64, less than a quarter were working outside the home in 1973, due in part to the fact that many older women come from traditional immigrant groups and in part because most employers retire their female workers at age 60.

In what sectors of the economy are women employed? The greatest concentration of women is in public services; the second is in industry. Although women's jobs are increasing in the technical and scientific professions, most jobs remain sexually stereotyped, with some notable exceptions. Thus, 85% of all secretaries and stenographers are women, as are 80% of all nurses, while 93% of the country's jurists and 95% of its engineers are men. On the other hand, almost a third of all Israeli physicians are female.

In education, virtually all kindergarten personnel are female and women outnumber men three to one in the primary schools. In post-primary education, however, the men outnumber the women 4,700 to 3,500. Among principals of coeducational high schools, almost no women can be found. In institutions of higher education, women comprise 21% of the faculties, 25% of the assistants and 18% of the lecturers--but only 2% of the professors.

As in their full participation in medicine, women's membership in the country's police force is ahead of that in other countries. Police ranks were opened to women 15 years ago. Now there are nearly 2,000 women among the police. They constitute one-sixth of the total force and work in every department of the force. Recently, for the first time, policewomen participated with men in an officer candidate course where identical requirements were imposed on both sexes. Yet, the women's superintendent stressed, not too long ago, that "our police girls are not policemen in uniform. They are women in every sense of the word."

In the army's call on women as well as men, Israel is also ahead of other countries in its treatment of the two sexes. Required military service, however, is three years for men and two years for women. Furthermore, women are not accepted unless they have completed eight years of schooling and can pass a literacy test. This provision does not apply to men. As a result of this difference in entrance requirements, 25% of mobilized girls and only 6% of boys are rejected. Ultimately, 40% of all women enter the service while 93% of the men do. This means that many girls who do not finish their education cannot take part in the Army's basic education campaign in which soldiers are encouraged to take remedial and other courses leading to a high school diploma, nor can many of them benefit from the Army's extensive vocational programs. Where women do participate in vocational courses, the offerings generally differ from those available for men. Men are trained for technical careers while for women, inside as well as outside the Army, the focus is on office and administrative skills. In addition to the special courses for men who cannot meet Army standards, there are programs to rehabilitate convicts as well as to help juvenile delinquents—as long as they are male. Questions have been raised as to the effectiveness of the program for convicts and some pressure has been brought toward opening more Army assignments to women as part of the search for additional manpower. Despite its need for more soldiers, however, the Army persists in having higher entrance and retention requirements for women than for men.

The Army discriminates against women in another way. Except for those who are making the Army their career, women but not men must leave the service as soon as they are married. The Army also gives special care to its women, as a recent item in the Jerusalem Post indicates. Under the headline, "Pampered for Day," the article reported: "Women soldiers day was marked...in Sinai... 'The girls' service conditions in the desert are tough,' their commanding officer said, 'and the unit decided to pamper them for one day.' In the course of the day the women were treated to a fashion show, a festive dinner and entertainment before returning to their routine jobs."

Education

The relationship between education and the extent of women's participation in the labor force is very close—when women are compared to other women only. The more education a women has, the more likely she is to work outside the home. Thus, only 11% of Israeli women without formal schooling work outside the home but 25% of those with a primary education, 40% with a high school diploma and 74% of college graduates do so. Men, on the other hand, participate in the labor force regardless of their educational attainments.

In Israel, educational attainment for women is generally equal to that of men. In 1970, a higher proportion of women than men had between 13 and 15 years of schooling, while for men and women with 5-12 years of education differences were not very great. It was only at the extremes of the scale that women's educational attainment was below that of men: almost three times as many women were without any formal education while almost three times as many men had more than 16 years of schooling.

Women constituted 60% of Israel's 1968/69 secondary school enrollment and also outnumbered the men in post-secondary education. About half of all bachelor's degrees were issued to women although they received only 27% of the master's degrees and 13% of the Ph.D.s.

The distribution of men and women among the various disciplines also differs markedly, with women greatly outnumbering men in programs leading to welfare occupations, in teachers' training, in paramedical courses, and in the arts.

The participation of men and women in vocational programs is similarly governed by traditional concepts. Vocational schools, to begin with, enroll more boys than girls and the programs intended primarily for boys seem better planned and equipped and to lead to more promising careers than do those for girls. Vocational programs are, basically, technical or non-technical. By and large, the former, including machine shop, precision mechanics, electronics, mechanical engineering, maritime subjects, carpentry, industrial chemistry and printing, are considered appropriate for boys. The non-technical subjects, including secretarial and clerical courses, accounting, sewing, interior design, applied arts and home economics, are designed for girls. According to a recent survey, only 16% of the girls enrolled in vocational courses were studying technical subjects.

Arab girls in rural areas and 99% of those in urban communities were enrolled. In higher education, there was only one Arab girl at Hebrew University in 1952; now there are about 200 Arab college women.

The difficulties of a transition period were obvious during our group's visit to an Arab village. Although girls there now attend primary school, more and more of them drop out as they reach their teens, despite Israel's compulsory education laws. Even now, 70% of the women in this village are illiterate. The adult education classes include no women--in part because "the men don't want to let their women out of the house in the afternoon and evening," when classes are held, according to the director of the local community center.

In 1948, 67% of the Arabs lived in rural communities and very few of their women worked outside their village. Since then, increasing numbers have left their own farms to work on Jewish-owned land and in factories, although as late as 1973 the proportion of Arab women working outside their home was less than 10%. Where Arab women work alongside Jewish women, both groups are covered by the same protective laws; both may belong to the union, the Histadrut.

For Jewish women in the "Oriental" community, change is also coming. Their status, within their families, is similar to that of their Arab sisters. Their families are large and the mothers are kept home with the children for many years. Among Israeli men and women born in Asia or Africa, about a quarter are illiterate and one may assume that this percentage is considerably higher for women than for men. Given their low educational attainment, it is not surprising that in 1972, among Oriental-born women aged 35-54, only 27% were in the labor force compared to 48% among Israeli-born women and 44% among the Western-born. But, when educational attainment is held constant, ethnicity did not affect women's participation in the labor force. For those with a high school education, 36% of the Western and 35% of the Oriental women were working outside the home.

Religious Influence

The traditional attitudes of Israel's Oriental groups are reinforced by the country's religious leadership which, in this as in other areas of Israeli life, is influential beyond the number of its supporters. Shulamit Aloni, one of the Knesset's few female members, expressed the opinion of many Israelis when she said recently that "Orthodox religious coercion has gained strength through coalition agreements and political needs." Whatever these arrangements may be, Orthodoxy's views of women's role are symbolized by daily prayers in which men bless Him "who has not made me a woman." Orthodox observance relegates women to a passive role and for the religious, this is the ideal which should govern secular life as well: men are the leaders of the country while women's major responsibility is to their families. Not suprisingly, rabbis oppose women's army service and all Orthodox women are excused from this duty. Orthodoxy's attitudes are epitomized, as Ms. Aloni recalled with bitterness by the rabbis' campaign for modesty during one of Israel's wars, when they were concerned with "the kind of stockings we wore and the length of our sleeves."

The Women's Equal Rights Law of 1951 provides that "a man and a woman shall have equal status with regard to any legal proceeding; any provision of law which discriminates with regard to any legal proceeding, against women as women, shall be of no effect;" yet this legislation does not apply to laws of marriage and divorce since such areas are the exclusive domain of the rabbis, a monopoly granted by the Knesset to the Rabbinical Courts in 1953.

According to religious laws, the initiative for divorce rests solely with the husband. As a result, a woman is bound to her husband even though he may have deserted her many years ago or may be mentally ill, thus unable to grant her a divorce. A widow cannot remarry unless her husband's brother releases her. Religious laws discriminate against women in other ways. For example, women cannot function as judges in rabbinical courts and are not permitted to testify there.

Kibbutzim

While the country's religious institutions are clearly on the side of tradition, the kibbutzim originally were committed to women's full participation in the creation of the new Israel. The emphasis in the early days of the kibbutz movement was most definitely on women's equality. The needs of Palestine's agricultural settlements reinforced the ideal of women's full participation in building the new society. Women "fought for their right to break up gravel, to hew stones, to work on scaffolding" and to take part in the defense of their homes. Photographs we saw at Tel Hai are evidence of these times of heroism, idealism, hard work and women's equal position alongside the men. But, as the pioneer days were left behind, with their pressing need for everyone's full contribution to the tasks at hand, the insistence on women's equality diminished. The increase in the number of settlers and the rise in the standard of living impelled many women to go back to their traditional roles. Whereas under conventional living arrangements women would cook, sew, launder, and take care of children within their own family, they now took on these functions for the whole kibbutz.

Today's reality is far removed from the original ideal of sexual equality. A 1967 study, for example, showed 67% of kibbutz women working in education, kitchen chores, nursing, etc. Less than 9%

were steadily engaged in agriculture; less than 4% were in industry. Few women participate in the administration and government of the kibbutzim. Pictures at Ayelet Hashahar of the kibbutz's executive committee and other governing bodies showed very few women as members. When one of our group raised this issue, no concern was evidenced about this situation affecting half the kibbutz members and we were told that "women have to take care of the children." This sexism has significant national implications. Because of the kibbutzim's eminent ideological status in Israel and their function as an important training ground for many of the country's political leaders, the limited role played by women in the kibbutzim's governance reduces their opportunities for full participation in the leadership of the country as a whole.

The lack of concern for women's equality in the kibbutzim seems to be shared by men and women. As one woman said: "Kibbutz women aren't interested in equality; they're interested in children." Until recently, children in most kibbutzim lived in the children's houses away from their parents. Opportunities were made for fathers as well as mothers to visit them at the end of each day. A reaction to this arrangement has set in, however, and, according to a recent survey, two-thirds of kibbutz women and half of the men want to abolish this system and have the children live with their parents. Some kibbutzim have already instituted the change; others are very likely to follow. This development will, no doubt, reinforce women's domesticity. Most of them seem to welcome it.

Special Legislation and Services

If education and, to a lesser degree, ethnicity, are closely related to women's participation in the labor force, and the country's religious and kibbutz establishments tend to discriminate against women, certain laws and services may hinder or further women's status in society.

Israel's humanitarian principles and its desire for greater manpower have been responsible for the country's excellent maternity and infant care. Concern with the welfare of mother and child is shown, for example, in Israel's prohibition against the dismissal of pregnant women from their jobs. It is also shown in the provision for 12 weeks' maternity leave with pay and for a year's unpaid leave after a baby is born. Well-baby clinics in every community provide services through delivery, infancy, early childhood and school age. No wonder, then, that Israel's infant mortality rate, for the most recent year available, is 22.1 per 1,000 babies one year old or less--a very good rate for a developing country. (Israel's life expectancy, incidentally, compares favorably with all but the most advanced countries of the West. It is 72.8 for women and 70.1 for men, compared with U.S. rates of 75.2 and 67.4 respectively).

Israel's desire for a larger population, while protecting the health of women and babies, reinforces traditions that keep women at home, especially among the Oriental families where eight or ten children are not unusual. These traditions also affect the course of legislation recently approved by a committee of the Knesset, which would allow abortions, in approved medical institutions only, during the first three months of pregnancy, subject to the approval of a committee consisting of a gynecologist and a public health nurse or a social worker. Present law permits abortions only if the mother's life is in danger. The Israeli Obstetrical and Gynecological Society, representing over 400 doctors, including almost all specialists in this field in Israeli hospitals, have declared that they will refuse to perform abortions if the new legislation passes. It considers the new provisions "extreme" and declares that "we don't think a woman has the right to interrupt her pregnancy...without her husband's agreement. A pregnancy belongs to two people." The Society claimed in a recent open letter that the physicians' opposition to the proposed legislation stemmed "from real concern for the health and future fertility of the Israeli women," despite the fact that, according to Israel's Minister of Health, there are now 60,000 abortions performed a year, of which only 15,000 are legal. At the time we were in Israel, no final decision on the abortion bill had been made.

Israel has established many day care centers for children of working mothers. The Ministries of Labor and Welfare contribute 60% toward their buildings and equipment, with women's organizations contributing the other 40%. In recent years, municipal authorities have assumed this portion of the cost while various women's organizations continue to be responsible for operating the centers. The centers charge sliding-scale fees but the government helps those unable to pay. The day care centers operate generally during the whole day but nursery and primary schools have no afternoon programs, thus discouraging mothers' participation in the labor force. In 1972, 35% of children aged 3 and 70% of those aged 4 were enrolled in nurseries, thus relieving mothers of their care for at least part of the day.

There are other provisions for working mothers. Mothers of children under 12 have a 7-hour day. Those with children under 16 have the right to use six days of sick leave when their children are sick; fathers have the same right. In plants where the majority of employees is female, a 5-day week prevails although, generally, Israel has a 6-day working week. There are legal obstacles to women working at night, although many women have come to feel that this special law as well as others encourages employers to discriminate against women; they would rather hire men who are not protected through special privileges. The pension laws also treat women and men differently, with widowers getting only half of what widows receive. Women, furthermore, are expected to retire at 60; men at 65.

The Women's Workers' Council, with 6,000 members elected by 600,000 working women, has fought against discrimination, especially against giving men job preference as heads of their families. Despite these efforts against discrimination, and in the face of a law calling for equal pay for men and women, the 1973 annual income of female workers was only 55% of men's. This inequality in pay was due primarily to the fact that "female" jobs are generally at the bottom of the labor market.

The Future of Women's Status

Whatever the immediate future holds, in the long term women in Israel are likely to move toward greater equality with men. Within the society, differences among its constituent parts should become less pronounced as national experiences and institutions are shared by all over an extended period of time. The level of educational attainment will continue to rise and with this improvement will come a more progressive attitude toward women. At the same time, rates of intermarriage between Western and "Oriental" Jews will probably increase--it is estimated that this happens in 20% of all marriages at present--and cultural differences between the two communities should be reduced. This also should lead to a wider acceptance of 20th century concepts toward women. In the long run, religious influence will diminish, as it has in most modern societies, and so will traditional views toward women's role in society. As other institutions become more important, the impact of the kibbutzim's practices and ideals will also decline--even now less than 4% of the population lives on the kibbutzim. On the whole, then, the country's laws and institutions will continue to reflect the values of the society at large and as this society takes on less traditional notions, Israel's laws and institutions will also become less sexist.

Occasion: Visit to Linguistics Department, Bar-Ilan University
Date: February 16, 1976
Contacts: Dr. Joseph Reif, Chairman, Department of Linguistics
Sidney Kelman, Coordinator, Basic Language Program
Mrs. Valerie Whiteson, Applied Linguistics Program
Mrs. Thea Reeves, Teaching Supervisor and Inspector of English Curriculae in the Tel Aviv Schools
ESS Reporters: Bert Mogin and William Dorfman

Our visit to the English Department of Bar-Ilan University was planned to investigate some educational implications of a multilingual society. On the one hand, immigrants to Israel from 100 nations must quickly speak the national language of Hebrew. On the other hand, Hebrew-speaking students need to read and use materials in the universal language of English. The discussion was led by Dr. Reif, assisted by Mr. Kelman, Mrs. Whiteson and Mrs. Reeves. The teaching of English as a second language and the teaching of Hebrew to immigrant children was the focus of the discussion.

English as a Foreign Language in the University

Institutions of higher education in Israel require the use of source materials which are written in languages other than Hebrew, since only 3,000,000 people in the entire world can write in Hebrew. At Bar-Ilan University, for example, 90% of the books in the library are written in English; summaries in Hebrew do not provide an adequate basis for scholarship. Therefore, an extensive Basic Language Program in English is conducted for 1,200 students at the university. The goal of the program is to equip college students with the literary tools needed to handle books and journals in English.

Although Israeli children start English in school as a second language at the fourth or fifth grade level and have had about seven years of English by the time they reach the university, the quality of the English of entering freshmen is very uneven. One reason for this is that there is usually a 3-year gap between completion of secondary school and university entrance, due to Army service. Unused language skills are quickly lost. Another factor is the uneven quality of the teaching/learning experience. Teachers are often drawn from those with English-speaking backgrounds but, especially at the lower grade levels and in the development areas, less qualified teachers are used.

All entering university students are given a written English placement examination. Since the emphasis is on handling books and journals, the ability to speak English is considered of lesser importance. Based on the examination results, the students are classified according to the following four levels: Beginners, Advanced Beginners, Advanced I and Advanced II.

Beginners are taught the basics; advanced beginners are given grammar review with increasingly sophisticated literature Students at both beginning levels, who comprise about 16% of the students, are considered to be at the sub-matriculation level. Their classes meet for three hours a week plus one hour of laboratory work. The advanced classes meet only two hours per week, and at this level English material relating to the students' majors is emphasized. The students must pass the advanced examination in order to meet their English language requirement.

In a second program, the Applied Linguistics Course, the objective is to train teachers of English whose native tongue is other than English. Students in this course are given a placement examination which tests speaking ability as well as proficiency in literature. Since English is now taught in all of the schools, the demand for teachers of English is greater than the supply.

Foreign Students

Approximately 700 students at Bar-Ilan University are foreign-born with varying backgrounds in the English language. The Netherlands and Scandinavia provide thorough training in English, as do the Soviet Union and parts of Latin America. Other students, such as those from Romania and Iran, may have striking deficiencies in the language. All foreign students, except for those who come from English-speaking countries, also take the English placement examination and, if necessary, the Basic Language Program.

The teaching of Hebrew to immigrant children whose native language is other than Hebrew seems generally a "sink or swim" proposition. The children are placed in regular classes and are usually left to learn the language on their own through saturation, exposure, and use. Where there are concentrations of new immigrant children, arrangements may be made for supplementary classes to speed the process. Where a child is having special difficulty, private lessons may be available. As a general rule, however, no special provisions are made, nor do they seem to be needed, since this approach seems to work surprisingly well. The motivation to learn is high, since Hebrew is not just a language for communication but has a strong religious and cultural base.

The Ulpan approach, discussed elsewhere in this report, is used to teach Hebrew to adults.

Occasion:	Meeting with Arie Fink, Chief, Rehabilitation Branch, Ministry of Defense
Date:	February 16, 1976
Contact:	Mr. Fink
ESS Reporters:	Joyce Stern and Daniel Metzman

While the Israel Defense Force (IDF) is primarily concerned with the deadly business of the nation's military security, it is also charged under Israeli law with the responsibility of looking after and caring for Israel's disabled war veterans. (In contrast, the United States has created a separate governmental agency, with independent funding--the Veteran's Administration--to meet the costs of caring for its disabled former servicemen, and for the surviving dependents of deceased military personnel.) Operating on the theory that the same ministry which initiates an inductee into the military service should also be the agency responsible for his care, should he need it, and for that of his family should he become disabled or die, Israel requires its army to provide from its own budget for these needs.

The Rehabilitation Branch was set up in 1949 during the War of Liberation and its placement within the army was determined by David Ben Gurion, the first prime minister. Although this decision has been questioned over the years, the General Staff has consistently maintained the service within the army.

In a country where active and reserve military obligations may carry a man to his 55th birthday, the concept of "caring for its own" generates a formally institutionalized "extended military family." Israeli officials claim that there is a significant and valuable psychological spin-off from this phenomenon which in part has helped forge the IDF into the highly motivated and extremely effective fighting force it has become.

The operations of the Branch are guided by three basic laws: (1) The Veteran's Law; (2) the Deceased Soldiers' Family Law; and (3) the Discharged Solders' Law. The programs resulting from these laws are described below:

Pensions

1. One type of pension is paid to all veterans with a disability of 10% or more. The purpose of this payment is not to provide a livelihood but is related to the special costs associated with individual disabilities. It represents an incentive for the veteran to find gainful employment. In addition, there is a temporary or permanent income supplement related to an individual's needs, e.g. the degree of his disability and/or the stages of his rehabilitation or unemployment.

2. If there is permanent or total disability, then instead of a pension pegged to disability, the veteran receives a full pension, the amount of which is linked to the salaries of civil servants. So, for example, a veteran in this category, married but without children, would receive a pension equal to the salary

of a mid-grade civil servant. Today this would come to 2,600 Israeli pounds per month ($338.00). These stipends, by law, are linked to the cost-of-living index, offering some measure of insulation against Israel's rampant economic inflation. Other benefits are also provided, including allowances for special care attendants and, in cases of at least 50% disability, added sums for the acquisition and upkeep of an automobile, and supplements to meet the special needs of, for example, amputees, the blind and paraplegics.

Medical Services:

Unlike the American model, which has its own separate military medical establishment, the IDF relies upon existing civilian medical facilities and providers to furnish medical services to its active and reserve duty troops. This same civilian medical apparatus also cares for the military veteran. In addition to the full range of medical and surgical services, guidance counseling and comprehensive social services are also furnished. However, veterans requiring prosthetic and/or orthotic devices are supplied with them by workshops operated and maintained by the Ministry of Defense itself. While the prescription for these instruments originate with physicians outside the defense establishment, their design, construction, fitting and maintenance are all provided by IDF technicians and experts free of charge.

Vocational Rehabilitation

The main emphasis of this aspect of the Branch's program is to bring a man to full employment. In this, there has been a high degree of success. Support varies according to the goals of the disabled veteran.

1. For anyone accepted by a university for a first or second degree, the army will provide full payment of tuition and living allowances.

2. Similar support is provided to those enrolled in vocational education programs of from six months' to two years' duration.

3. Veterans establishing small business enterprises receive low rate loans and tax benefits and exemptions.

4. To assist in the placement of disabled veterans, there are seven regional employment exchanges in the country. Moreover, there is a quota system whereby every enterprise employing over 20 workers must have disabled veterans comprise 5% of its workforce. Mr. Fink acknowledged that the quota is a controversial requirement, but he felt that the tribunal which enforces it is genuinely objective.

Verification of the extent of disabilities is determined by a Medical Board composed of doctors appointed by the Minister of Defense and operating independent of the army. A higher board hears appeals and provides a final review.

Definition of disabilities, Mr. Fink noted, include psychological impairment, which was proportionally higher after the Yom Kippur War than in previous wars. He attributed this to the fact that Israel was taken by surprise, to the sheer mass of firepower which had not been encountered in previous wars, and to the nature of the internment by those who experienced it.

Those with battle fatigue and shell shock were those who helped form the first line of defense. Most have now overcome the psychological problems that resulted from the war.

The Disabled Veterans' Organization actively promotes legislation to improve benefits and the basic laws are being amended all the time, Mr. Fink informed the group. He also noted that there is no difference in the treatment of a veteran if he became disabled in peacetime, in combat, or if he sustained his injuries in the War of Independence (1948) or the Yom Kippur War (1973).

Widows, Parents, and Family Support

A soldier's widow, and the deceased's minor children, receive a full means of lielihood. Both widows and orphans, if they are admitted to a university, are eligible to receive full tuition and maintenance through a second level college degree. Should a widow remarry, she receives a lump sum final payment of 90,000 Israeli pounds in two installments, one when she marries and one two years later. If the new marriage is dissolved, the widow regains her former status and benefits. For a widow without children, the applicable time period is five years, whereas a widow with children may regain her status if her new marriage is dissolved even after seven years. In any case, benefits for children continue even after a new marriage. The Knesset recently raised these benefits for children to free the new husband of undue burden and to encourage the success of the marriage. Mr. Fink also mentioned that a working widow's income has no influence on her pension and other benefits. The parents of a deceased soldier also receive benefits but only those without an income are eligible for the maximum allowance. A means test is employed to determine benefit levels. The bereaved are also provided with medical insurance and special housing grants.

The current budget of the Rehabilitation Branch is 950 million Israeli pounds and includes the salaries of its 450-member staff and all pensions and benefits described above. Staff consists primarily of social workers and placement officers in the seven regional offices. The main office in Tel Aviv is responsible for planning and budgeting.

Concusion

A visitor to Israel comes away with a distinct sense that the State of Israel has designed and implemented a comprehensive apparatus to care for her disabled military veterans, that the nation conducts the day-to-day business of helping them with an enlightened and compassionate commitment toward restoring the impaired veteran to the status of a productive and contributing member of Israeli society, and of seeing that widows and orphans live with hope and dignity.

Occasion: Visit to Beit Halokhem, "Warriors House", just outside of Tel Aviv
Date: February 16, 1976
Contact: Dr. Yehudi Ben Ashai, Clinical Researcher in Brain Injuries
ESS Reporter: Joyce Stern

Our visit to Beit Halokhem, a unique institution for Israel's disabled veterans, appropriately followed the briefing by Arie Fink, Chief of the Rehabilitation Branch of the Army. Tragically, Israel has been engaged in wars of survival since her birth in 1948. With the Six-Day War in 1967, there was an upsurge in the number of men in need of a special recreational facility. The building we visited was nevertheless only completed by the time of the Yom Kippur War (1973) and two similar facilities for the Jerusalem and Haifa areas are not yet operational.

Beit Halokhem, set atop a hill well away from Tel Aviv's pollution, overlooks the Mediterranean to the west and the verdant hills of Samaria to the east. It is the perfect setting for a country club which, in a very real sense, is what Beit Halokhem is. It was conceived and built as a retreat for the disabled from Israel's wars where together with their families and comrades they can play and relax. As with any club, there are restrictions and fees. Only veterans with at least a 10% disability are eligible. The ratings are in accordance with international standards and classification is carried out by the Army's medical board. The fee is modest, a basic monthly charge of 25 Israeli pounds for the veteran plus 20 pounds for his wife and a small charge for each child. However, no family is required to pay more than 62 pounds (less than $8 at the time of our trip). Moreover, rates are adjusted downward for unemployed veterans dependent upon a pension.

At the late morning hours of our visit, few of the facilities were being used since most members were at their jobs or in the city or surrounding towns. We were told that the hours after work and after school, as well as holidays, were when Beit Halokhem was in full operation with cultural and athletic activities as well as some rehabilitation services.

Our tour of the modern, colorful concrete building afforded the opportunity to view virtually all the rooms where these programs occur. Sports equipment included an indoor and outdoor pool specially equipped with a hydraulic lift to lower men confined to wheel-chairs into the water (the water temperature is adjusted to stimulate the muscle tone of paraplegics); table tennis for paraplegics; a pistol range which was especially popular since it could be used by all but the blind, even those limited in other sports; and a brand new basketball court specially constructed for the disabled maneuvering from wheelchairs.

Other program specialities could be found in a music room complete with piano, hi-fi and taping equipment; an obviously popular art class; and bridge and chess club rooms. Although Beit Halokhem is neither a residence nor a hospital, given the nature of the club's population specially designed therapy activities are available as well. We visited a "physical fitness" room where those less severely afflicted could exercise and a "physical therapy" room where veterans requiring a more rigidly calibrated program could work out. All programs of physical fitness or physical therapy are medically approved and carried out under medical supervision.

While the clear thrust of the program at Beit Halokhem is on the therapy of active participation in a physically or intellectually stimulating activity, a lounge with a TV was also available. The presence there of a grey-haired man with a cane was a mute reminder that some of the warriors seeking the benefits of Beit Halokhem received their wounds over a generation ago. But stark testimony to the immediacy of the struggle was also available in the lengthy roll engraved on a wall in the central hallway and bearing the caption, "Dedicated to Sons of Disabled Veterans Who Fell in the Yom Kippur War."

The visit to Beit Halokhem concluded with a lecture by Yehudai Ben Ashai, a clinical researcher in brain injuries. Dr. Ben Ashai, an Israeli now living in the United States, had been invited by the State to head up a year-long effort to develop a special program of rehabilitation for brain-injured soldiers for whom all other treatment had failed. In layman's terms, Dr. Ben Ashai was able to dramatically convey to our group the success which had been achieved in the last year with nearly all of the 28 patients who consented to participate in what was essentially an applied research project.

The project began three years ago when a member of an elite army unit sustained severe brain damage. His IQ fell to 64 and he failed to respond to treatment available in Israel. His family refused to accept the diagnosis that nothing else could be done for the man and he was finally sent to the United States for treatment by Dr. Ben Ashai. Under an intensive program involving eight to nine hours a day, the team assigned to help the soldier succeeded in raising his IQ to 110. On the basis of this experience, Dr. Ben Ashai was asked to develop a treatment program in Israel and to train a team of therapists to carry on the job there.

Dr. Ben Ashai briefly described his approach. He stated that the brain-injured had been damaged in several ways. Not only were they totally disrupted intellectually and intrapsychically, but their vocations, their social lives and, often, their family lives were also destroyed as a result of their injury. Therefore, the first step in the treatment was to counteract the situation by creating a structure in which they could function. The patients together with the therapists and their families altogether involved 100 people crossing three generations. This group came to constitute the extended family and society of the patients. All their after-treatment hours involved this society with whom picnics, parties, and celebrations were shared.

Secondly, even though the pool of patients from which these patients were drawn consisted of men for whom other treatment had so far failed, Dr. Ben Ashai selected patients who showed at least some potential for success. For one thing, they had to be willing to participate, i.e. they had to have some degree of motivation. They also had to have experienced success in their careers before their injury, whatever those careers happened to be. No aphasics and no unmanageable psychiatric cases were admitted. Patients had to be unemployed and otherwise able to devote full days to the program. But they also had to be independent physically, have one good hand, and live near Beit Halokhem.

Dr. Ben Ashai and his team were able to find 28 men who met these qualifications and the program commenced. Two groups of 14 each were formed with 11 staff members per group. The program continued for 13 months, involving 7 hours of therapy a day for 5 days each week. Therapy was conducted within the supportive family/community structure described.

The major problem for all these men concerned brain control. All were in some manner trapped between themselves and the outside world. This translated itself into disorientation, lack of self-control and lack of motivation. Therefore, the first phase of the program consisted of exercises to bring about self-control: eye/hand/finger coordination; the processing of visual information; perceptive/cognitive integration; and, finally, thinking. All exercises were carried out at each individual's own speed. Pre- and post-tests were taken at every interval to measure progress. Following this phase, programs were conducted to develop greater self-motivation before then developing courses tailor-made for each man to address his residual problems.

Now, with the year's effort concluded, there are two significant results. The first is that one-third of the group is already gainfully employed and another third soon will be. Of the remaining 10 men, only one, said Dr. Ben Ashai, will probably never achieve gainful employment. The second major result is that a team of therapists dedicated to deal with this problem has now been trained in this total approach to the challenge of reorienting the brain-injured. They now form a nucleus to train teams elsewhere in the country so that the approach may be available nationally. Dr. Ben Ashai announced that he had accepted an invitation to extend his stay in Israel another year to facilitate the beginning of this next stage of the training program.

Occasion:	Briefing at City Hotel, Tel Aviv, prior to visit to Jules Army Base
Date:	February 18, 1976
Contact:	Colonel Shlomo Lev
ESS Reporter:	Joyce Stern

In preparation for our visit south of Tel Aviv toward Ashkelon to an armed forces workshop, the entire ESS group was treated to an introductory lecture by Colonel Shlomo Lev on the educational role of the Army in teaching those who would not normally be accepted into it. This function is carried out by the Manpower Branch and involves assisting soldiers who do not meet the expectations of the Army because of social or educational deficiencies.

Colonel Lev sketched the background, military history and ideology of the Israeli Army against which this role must be viewed. Recognizing even before statehood was achieved in 1948 that the Jewish State would be faced with unfriendly neighbors superior in number, Israelis developed the concept of "The Few Against the Many"--that Israel would be able to manage against larger forces because of her qualitative superiority. This superiority would be based on the Israeli soldier's educational advantage, especially in modern technology, coupled with his motivation to fight for the survival of his country.

Based on this need for quality, a system was devised for grading each individual before induction and for developing a personality profile placing the individual in one of 16 "Quality Groups." Tests cover I.Q., educational attainment, level of Hebrew, and motivation as a soldier--all apart from satisfying the physical requirements. Placement in a Quality Group is of the greatest significance since it determines the whole military life of a soldier from the age of 17 to 54, including predetermining the rank to which an individual may rise. For example, in the Armored Corps an individual could only become a commander if he were in the upper quartile. However, a soldier is never told his rating.

Having sketched the nation's need for excellence in her army and the resultant Profile ratings which place her soldiers in a hierarchy, Colonel Lev described its impact on the Sephardic community. First of all, the Army has experienced a "galloping inflation" in the ratings as a result of a new era of technology born after the Six-Day War. The quality standards have risen dramatically, as more skills and a higher level of excellence are required of a soldier. (An example of advancing technology is the recent computerization of gunnery.) Secondly, the profile is and always has been "education-loaded." Yet, half of Israel's population stems from parents who were ill- or under-educated and may have come to 20th Century Israel straight out of the Middle Ages. Consequently, new inductees from this segment of the population rate low in all four categories which comprise the profile. For example, 18% of this group has had a maximum of eight years of schooling. The demands of the Army greatly exceed the ability of this group to deliver.

We had all been acquainted, by virtue of the background reading recommended by ESS, with the social and educational gap which exists today in the Israeli population generally between those from the "East" and those from the "West." Colonel Lev's remarks shifted our examination of this problem from the arena of the schools to the Army, where presumably all of Israel's youth meet. The Army is popularly viewed as Israel's melting pot, marriage broker, and opportunity for upward mobility.

We were advised, however, that the dichotomy between the Sephardim and Ashkenazim prevents this happy myth from attaining the significance of reality. Many Sephardim have, in fact, failed to gain acceptance into the Army. This has occurred to such a degree that officials talk of a social "time bomb" because failure to be received into the Army essentially means failure to adjust to life. Gangs of these outcasts exist today in Israel's major cities and comprise the nation's criminal elements.

While the demand for quality by the Army has pointed up a quality-deficient segment of the population, the Army itself faces a quantitative problem. With all her demands upon the adult and even middle-aged population for reserve duty, Israel is the most mobilized nation on earth. And yet she now needs a larger Army since the threat to her existence is persistent and pervasive. Consequently, Israel is now inducting groups that were not taken as recently as three to four years ago, e.g. those deemed potentially problematic, the under-educated, and those with a slight medical instability.

Inducting these previously rejected groups is seen as aiding both the Army and the nation as a whole. It is aimed in part at defusing the social time bomb. A great stigma is attached to being "not good enough for Zahal", especially in some development towns where as many as 50% of the 17-year-olds have been rejected in the past. Furthermore, in addition to the damage done to the rejectee's self-esteem, those who are inducted develop a deep hostility to those who do not make it. In taking in more individuals now, the Army sees itself as giving "a second chance to the second Israel."

Colonel Lev acknowledged that this educational enterprise has been a learning experience for the Army itself. It has learned, for example, that special care must be exercised with inductees regarded as problematic. The Army must operate as an integrating force for these men and offer them an opportunity to excel. To begin with, problematic soldiers are inducted separately and spend the initial six months in a special camp called a Dotan. There they receive intensive Hebrew instruction, always from girl soldier-teachers. It has been found that these girls are very influential in effecting positive attitude change in these soldiers; they try to please the teacher and, as a result, their behavior as well as their Hebrew improves. After six months, the men may choose where to serve for the duration of their enlistment period. The armoured car repair workshop we were to visit consisted primarily of Dotan graduates.

Assistance to problematic soldiers continues in the form of counseling, psychiatric treatment, and education, including vocational training throughout their army careers. Dotan graduates are now contributing soldiers; most work in rear units but a significant proportion does go on to combat units. Acknowledging that much more needed to be done and that a larger scale effort must be made in behalf of these soldiers, it was felt by Colonel Lev and by those assisting in this visit that the effort was overdue, necessary, and largely succeeding.

Occasion: Visit to Ne'urim Youth Aliyah Village
Date: February 19, 1976
Contacts: Nisan Kari, Principal, Samuel Frazen, Workshop Supervisor
ESS Reporter: Dorothy Shuler

Founded in 1933 as a means of looking after refugee children from Europe, Youth Aliyah is now primarily an educational rather than a rescue organization, one geared to serve disadvantaged children who need "special nurturing." These children include those from large Israeli families, primarily Sephardic Jews, who would not or could not educate them and orphans and children from other countries who arrive ahead of their families.

Youth Aliyah places young people in a rural or semi-rural surrounding and provides a total environment for those who need the integration of a normal school and a residential program. A large comprehensive academic/vocational high school on the grounds enrolls about 1,350 children aged 14-18. Of these, about 800 live in dormitories and the others are bused from their homes in the surrounding areas. The enlarged school offers the youngsters the opportunity to attend classes with the children of the community and opens excellent vocational facilities to others who desire specialized training.

The Youth Aliyah village of Ne'urim is sponsored by Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, and also receives funds from the Israeli Ministries of Education, Labor and Welfare. The Army also sponsors special programs such as the one for 17-year-old school dropouts, who are trained in a trade for one year. The Army continues them in the trade--auto mechanic or earth moving mechanic for example--during their three years of service.

The term aliyah means "ascension" or "going up" and is the coming of Jews as individuals or groups to live in Israel. Youth Aliyah continues to serve this function and has adjusted its programs to meet the needs of the children of the different waves of immigrants. Ne'urim has apparently had success with children from disadvantaged populations and those who, for some reason, do not fit into the regular schools. For example, the village had recently established a program for about 40 children of immigrants from the Russian Caucasus mountains. At 16, they were illiterate in Russian and spoke only an Asiatic Tat dialect. Very volatile, the children had not adjusted in a regular school. At the time of our visit, the Tat youngsters were being bused from their homes to day school to learn Hebrew and attend skill classes as an extension of their language lessons. The girls were taking a cosmetology course and the boys were in machine shop.

After mastering Hebrew, they may continue in these skills or enroll in others. The school works with the parents, especially the fathers, to handle problems.

Ne'urim has an educational staff of 200 which includes teachers and dormitory counselors. The administrative staff of 150 includes maintenance personnel and food services. Obviously, the per pupil expenditure is high and apparently it is justified in terms of Youth Aliyah as an "absorption center" and of the high costs necessary to educate disadvantaged children.

The high school offers a four-year secondary program for those who arrive at 14. An experimental program allows some students to complete the first three years of high school and then work three days and attend school three days during their senior year. Other programs are organized for students who drop out after the compulsory 9th grade so they can work five days and attend school one day.

As its major intake function for immigrant youths, the school has intensive programs to teach Hebrew in four to six months. Funded by the Ministry of Education and Culture, it also offers 17-year-olds the opportunity to take matriculation exams in their own language and to learn Hebrew.

Most of the programs lead to one of three diplomas: the regular diploma for which students take all matriculation exams; a diploma for students who take some but not all exams for matriculation with the option of taking others later; or a practical diploma for which students do not take any of the exams.

The core of the program is the regular high school in which students take an academic program, or prepare for well-paid jobs in skill trades. Men choose from matriculation-level fields such as aviation and electronics or trades such as carpentry, plumbing, auto mechanics and earth moving mechanics. Women enroll in technical drafting, cosmetology, nurse's aide courses, commercial and business programs. Some enroll in electronics.

The ratio of men to women students is 3 to 1. Cultural bias limits the number of girls who continue education after the 9th grade; those who do continue enroll in occupations which are considered acceptable for women.

The 800 resident students live in small groups of about 30, each with its own social counselor/house mother. Sometimes smaller ratios are organized to meet the needs of students who have severe problems. In general, the social counselor helps the students through their adjustment periods and interests them in some of the 50 hobby groups organized within the dormitories and in the organized sport program.

The school has field counselors who work with families and employers, as necessary. A psychologist visits the campus two or three times a week to work with the staff as needed.

Located along the shore of the Mediterranean on the site of what was originally a British police outpost to keep out Jewish immigrants, the school has an open-door policy, one designed to take all comers and to make whatever changes in programs are necessary to create an environment where each youngster can begin to find his or her own place.

Occasion:	Visit to Oranim, Kibbutzim State College
Date:	February 23, 1976
Contact:	Dr. Moshe Giladi, Director
ESS Reporter:	Susan A. Wiener

Oranim is the national Israeli school for educators who are part of the kibbutz movement. It also supports the Institute for Research in Kibbutz Education. Because of the philosophical concerns of the population that is committed to kibbutz life, it was felt that those persons who would be instrumental in shaping the lives of the children of kibbutzniks needed a unique type of teacher training. This feeling exists among the members of the kibbutzim because they believe that the way a teacher is educated will directly affect both his teaching style and the values he imparts to his students. The significance of this concept is particularly apparent once we consider the structure of education on a kibbutz.

In the kibbutzim, children are generally placed in a children's cottage within several days to six weeks after birth. They are educated there, with their peers, until they reach the age of 18, when they enter the Army. During the early stages of development, until kindergarten age, children live in a Toddler Home in groups of four to six, cared for by a nurse. When they are of kindergarten age, groups of about 10 to 15 children are cared for by one teacher and three "metapelots," or trained nurses.[1]

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[1] Education in Israel, Report of the Select Subcommittee on Education, Ninety-First Congress, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1970, p. 50.

While children on the kibbutz are by no means isolated from their parents, it is clear that almost all of their everyday care and a good deal of their early attitudinal development is left to others. So it comes as no surprise that training of these teachers and metapelots is regarded with special concern.

This concern is relfected in the way students are chosen to attend Oranim, and their resultant high motivation. Every student at Oranim who comes from a kibbutz (65% of the student population) is chosen by his fellow kibbutzniks. The kibbutz pays for the tuition and living expenses of the students they send. This arrangement insures a highly motivated student body, since the trainees know before they even begin their studies where they will work and in what capacity. Similar influences act upon the other 35% of Oranim's 1,200 students. This group of students falls into two categories. First there are some students from Arab towns who are sent to Oranim by the Ministry of Education. Like the kibbutzniks, the Arab students know where they will teach upon graduation, since they must sign a contract with the Ministry, in which they agree to return to their towns to teach for a minimum of five years. The second category of non-kibbutz members is made up of those students from the general population who want to study at Oranim because of its reputation for high quality training. For these students, the college charges the very high tuition of about I.L. 3,000 per year. This amount is not easily afforded by most Israelis and its expense would require some measure of sacrifice for the student and/or his family. Presumably, such a student has given a great deal of consideration to his career choice, and has a clear idea of what he wants from his postsecondary education.

The type of training offered at Oranim builds upon and reinforces the career choice. Students have practical field experience from the beginning of their studies. As Dr. Giladi said, the philosophy at Oranim is that "Education is life. It cannot be separated." Given this statement, we can easily understand why educational theory is never divorced from its practice, as it most often is in traditional teacher education. This emphasis on the practical also determines the kinds of materials Oranim teachers are trained to use. Great emphasis is placed upon use of commonly available items, and upon the importance of the child's surroundings. For kibbutz children, their teachers' training in this area would have particular benefit since the children's everyday living and learning environments are both controlled by educators.

Those students studying to become metapelots train for one to two years exclusively in early childhood education and become, what we might call, early childhood specialists. It is interesting to note that Dr. Giladi mentioned some similarity between the metapelot training and the type of parent training that is now being undertaken by the Brookline Early Education Project in Massachusetts. The Brookline project, like metapelot training, emphasizes the importance of a child's earliest environment and adult contacts in determining the success of his future educational, psychological, and social development. Instead of training parents, however, Oranim is training specialized educational personnel, and has been doing so for about fifty years.

Students studying to become elementary and secondary level teachers train for 3 to 3 1/2 years. This includes special music and art teachers, as well as special educators who teach the handicapped. Significantly, secondary school teacher trainees study both their major subject field and education right from the start. Dr. Giladi said he saw this as a way of preventing frustrated scientists, mathematicians, and writers from becoming teachers. The primary goal at Oranim is to learn to teach.

Since it was expected that most students at Oranim would have this goal in mind, the school was set up without the traditional academic rewards and pressures to achieve. It was assumed that students would study for study's sake. Understandably, then, neither exams nor grades are used at Oranim. Student evaluation is conducted through a process of personal contacts with professors. This process is facilitated through the maintenance of a class size of no more than 24 students.

In addition, up until five years ago, no degree was granted at Oranim. At that time, the college worked out an association with Haifa University which allowed it to grant its students a degree. This arrangement with Haifa University was not worked out without misgivings on either side. The University was, and continues to be, opposed to Oranim's policy of no exams or grades. Oranim, on the other hand, will not yield on this point, and continues to guard against these and other practices which they consider inappropriate to their educational philosophy. Dr. Giladi said that he didn't want the goal of his students to be the receipt of a "piece of paper." Nevertheless, it was felt that the granting of a degree was important in that it would give Oranim graduates greater future mobility and open up wider possibilities for continued study at other institutions.

Perhaps the question most important to consider in examining teacher training at Oranim is whether the school is producing the kind of teachers the kibbutz members hoped it would. Dr. Giladi was quick to point out that it did. He said that children on a kibbutz are taught the basic principles of kibbutz life by their teachers. Kibbutzniks are expected to have a strong sense of responsibility for the general welfare of the community, and so the children are taught the importance of volunteerism, the value of mutual help, cooperation with others, and the practice of direct democracy. In these and related principles kibbutz children have been tested to be consistently far superior to the rest of the population. I'm sure that Dr. Giladi would have been able to tell us much more about the value of kibbutz education, if we had had the time. He impressed us all as being a committed educator and an ardent believer in the ideals embodied in the kibbutz movement. His work at Oranim seemed to be his way of ensuring the continuation of those ideals.

Occasion: Visit to the University of Haifa
Date: February 23, 1976
Contact: Members of the School of Education
ESS Reporter: Susan A. Wiener

The weather was gray and rainy on the day of our visit to the University of Haifa, a bit unlucky for us since the modern, glass-walled buildings high on Mt. Carmel would have afforded us a spectacular view of the city and harbor below. It is even possible, we were told, to see as far south as Egypt from the top of the Eshkol Tower for Faculty and Research. To insure the beauty of this setting, the Israeli government has declared the land surrounding the campus to be the National Park of Haifa. This means that no other buildings may be constructed to obstruct the view from above or below. In addition, architectural plans have been drawn so that once all of the construction of the University buildings is complete (building began after the 1967 Six-Day War), the only visual indication from the city that the University is indeed there will be a view of the Eshkol Tower. Except for the tower, the University is housed in an incredibly long, low building, niched into the side of Mt. Carmel. This shape has aptly won it the nickname "the aircraft carrier."

It was through the main entrance of the Eshkol Tower that we began our introduction to the University. We were greeted by a member of the administrative staff who gave us some background information and a tour of the physical plant.

The University of Haifa, founded in 1963, has Faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences, Schools of Education and Social Work, and Institutes of Biology and Maritime Studies, comprising 25 departments. There are about 6,000 students currently attending, including Arab and Druze students, and about 500 faculty members. Our University guide pointed out that there were many kibbutzniks among the student population, and gave the impression that this was a particularly popular choice among that group as an institution of higher education. Another interesting fact about the make-up of the student population was that 60-65% are female. It was speculated that this "over-representation" of women is due to the University's concentration on the social sciences, a traditionally more popular major field for women than the natural and physical sciences, which seem to be the principal fields of study offered by many of the other postsecondary institutions in Israel.

Accordingly, the kind of research done at the University of Haifa is mainly social in nature. While some exact scientific research is conducted, chiefly in genetics, the major research at the University is on such problems as the integration of Arab students, the development of the town complex surrounding Haifa and the study of political elite leadership in immigrant centers.

The philosophy of the University of Haifa is to integrate the different Faculties as much as possible, encouraging not only a multidisciplinary approach to learning and research, but also a mixing of various groups of students who normally might never even meet. This philosophy is reflected in two different ways. One is that all students study two different major fields from the time they enter. This is opposed to the common European tradition of entering one Faculty and studying one subject intensively and exclusively for the entire university career. A second, more subtle encouragement to the integration of students and faculty is the layout of the physical plant. Meeting rooms and lounges are common to all members of the university. The entrances and exits, walkways, and other public areas are placed and decorated in order to have the effect of encouraging socializing. Most important, the central Eshkol Tower houses facilities commonly used by all Faculties: the library and the computer center. Again, having one library instead of many specialized ones runs counter to the European university tradition.

Our tour of the library revealed very pleasant work and study areas interspersed among open stacks. Nowhere was there a feeling of being closed in. Part of this feeling can be attributed to the ample space allocated to the library; however, most important was the fact that the walls, wherever possible, were glass. This provided a panoramic view of the outdoors on one side, and a view of the busy world inside the building on the other.

Of course, this library is admirable for reasons other than its setting. In addition to its open stacks of 300,000 volumes (most titles are in English), the library offers a heavy collection of periodicals and an extensive collection of newspapers. For example, the New York Times is available from the year 1900, the London Times from 1785.

After completing our tour, we had lunch at the University with several faculty members. Our luncheon was followed by a lecture and discussion on Arab education in Israel, led by Dr. Moshe Rinott of the University of Haifa and Dr. Sami Mar'i, Director of the University's Institute for Research and Development of Arab Education.

Occasion: Visit to Arab Community Center, Village of Tamra
Date: February 23, 1976
Contact: Munir Do'av, Director of the Center
ESS Reporter: David B. Orr

The Arab village of Tamra, which is located near Haifa, is the largest Arab village in that part of the country, population approximately 12,000. We were received by Munir Do'av, director of the community center. Do'av addressed us in Hebrew which was translated for us by Mrs. Hadassah Yuval.

He noted that this was the first community center in the Arab sector and that the concept was about six years old. The effort is to locate such centers in existing facilities, and there are several portions of the program located in various facilities around the village. The one that we were in was located in the teachers' room of the local elementary school.

This particular center was founded in 1973 and has a broad range of activities. Its concept is that all sections of the community, all families and villagers of all ages should become involved. The concept of family was emphasized since the Arab villages are very often based on huge clanships or families (for example, the director's family includes 3,000 of the 12,000 people in this village), and he does not want the community activities to be confined to a single family.

One of his major difficulties is that he must cope with the tightness of facilities both in terms of amount and quality of space and equipment.

The program embraces a wide variety of activities, including art, sports, education and social activities. All kinds of sports are included and as a matter of fact this village produced the national champion in weightlifting. (Subsequently, we viewed some of the boys working out at weightlifting).

Music activities include singing and dancing and the center group also received a prize for these activities. (We also viewed a boys' dance class). One of the areas that the community center director is most proud of is the evening school which has been set up as part of the educational activities, particularly for those who missed high school in the new high school. The goal here is to enable students to go for their matriculation examination for high school. (See the report on Arab Education).

With respect to the social activities of the community center, Mr. Do'av emphasized his plans for a new theater to give young folks a place to socialize. He said that two girls now participate in the theater and for the very first time they had a girl on stage last year. A lot of the work is in folklore and folk dancing.

Another activity of the center was the summer day camp program when 450 boys and girls were bused out of the village for day camp activity. The center also emphasized these kinds of activities to offer youth opportunities to meet young Jewish people and to interact with other community centers in other Arab villages.

The community center has made a great contribution to cultural life, placing emphasis on Arabic holidays through plays and ceremonies, which has resulted in a recreation of the folklore of these people.

Budget for the center is derived from: (1) a basic budget from the local council or government of the village; (2) a national organization for community centers provides I.L. 200,000 per year; (3) whenever the center develops a special program, such as the program to combat illiteracy, it receives a special budget from that branch of the Ministry of Education and Culture; and (4) the center charges a nominal fee for those who participate. There are about 1,000 members of the community center but services are not limited to the official members.

Last year they did considerable busing of women out of the village on short trips in order to help the women know the country better. The center may participate in any kind of activity in which the community centers of the nation generally participate.

I asked a question about the content of day camp activities, and the answer was that they are typical of these kinds of activities. However, Do'av stressed that one of the important programs in the day camps was leadership training for teens.

With respect to staff, there are essentially no volunteers from the village except one boy who wants to go to medical school and was told by the Ministry of Education that he had to serve a year in some service to his village as a prerequisite. Do'av explained that he hires staff only with the permission of the council in his village. He started with himself and worked out of his house and now has five permanent and 30 part-time staff members. He wants a woman to assist in reaching the women in the village, but while he has approval for hiring a woman he has no space to do so.

The question of compulsory education laws came up again and Do'av noted that they tried to enforce these laws by persuasion rather than by recourse to arrest. For example, there is a central "PTA" which meets with the local PTA and tries to show them how to persuade parents to let their children go to school. They enlist participants for their activities by going from house to house to see who's interested in what.

Do'av summed up his goals in a very broad sense without a time frame by saying that he would like to see his village better than any other village with respect to education and community service. He says it is hard because his facilities are poor and it is an uphill battle against the social structure of the village. However, he feels encouraged and one of his major goals is to get the theater going so that young couples will have a place to go, socially. He wants to be able to answer all the needs of the village but he feels he is nowhere near that yet. The village society is a stable one due to the familial structure's deep roots. Do'av said that newcomers are not typically a problem. The problem is in overcoming the influence of the family clans and moving more toward progressive, education-oriented areas.

Occasion:	Visit to Abba Khoushy Ulpan, Kiryat Eliezer, Haifa
Date:	February 24, 1976
Contact:	T'chia Avivi, Director
ESS Reporter:	Paul E. Cawein

For the professional immigrant to Israel whose skills require verbal and written communication, the rapid mastery of the Hebrew language is a vocational and economic necessity. Since 1967, this Absorption Center (Ulpan), supported in part by the United Jewish Appeal, has provided educational services to thousands of professional immigrants. It is a residential center for entire families with classes for children as well as adults. But its primary purpose is to impart basic facility in the Hebrew language within a maximum of five months, and to assist professional immigrants to move into productive employment throughout the country, in cooperation with the Ministry of Labor.

The language study is intensive--five hours a day of total immersion in Hebrew. Initial instruction is verbal, a simple audio-lingual approach, with classes of students from mixed language backgrounds. While many of the instructors are multilingual, the sole common language of the students in any classroom is Hebrew. The motivation to learn is intense: immediately for simple human communication, over the long haul for economic security. For the slow there is special tutoring after regular classes. As language facility develops, professionals are brought in to teach the specialized terminology of their fields.

Preparation for citizenship is also emphasized through classes in Israeli history, politics and geography, taught initially in the native tongues of the students. (At the time of our visit there were immigrants from Russia, Rumania, South America, United Kingdom, United States and South Africa). Group trips are taken to Jerusalem and other sites, contacts and visits with relatives and friends are encouraged and, as language facility develops, individuals are sent out for job interviews and to make settlement arrangements.

The building in which the immigrant families live and study is comfortable but stark. The motivation to move on is intense. Within five months 60% will have departed for settlement.

Contact: Visit to the Knesset and meeting with Hon. Shalom Levin, Member of the Knesset and Secretary, Israel Teachers' Union
Date: February 24, 1976
Contact: Mr. Levin
ESS Reporter: William Dorfman

The members of the Education Staff Seminar watched part of an evening session of the Knesset (the Israeli unicameral parliament) from the balcony. A class of high school boys under the tutelage of a teacher shared our audience. The subject of debate was the budget for the coming year. On the floor, the Minister of Finance warily defended his proposals against spirited attacks from the left and the right. Despite a belt-tightening posture, a record expenditure of 85 billion Israeli pounds was submitted for consideration, of which 30 billion was for defense and 4 billion (almost $600,000,000 at current exchange rates) was for education. A member of the liberal wing of the ruling coalition decried a cutback in education and other social services. On the other hand, a member of the opposition Likud coalition criticized the large deficit and high tax situations which have continued to plague Israel through its history of expensive defense crises and immigrant absorption. Mrs. Hadassah Yuval, our Israeli coordinator, translated some of the debate from Hebrew to English. This was one of the few occasions in Israel where our understanding was limited by language.

Later we met with Shalom Levin, a member of the Knesset Committee on Education and Culture. Although he is the Secretary of the Israel (Elementary) Teachers' Union, Levin did not believe that there was a conflict of interest in considering education legislation. Several issues were then candidly analyzed.

Government Budget for Education

The government is simultaneously trying to lower the standard of living in order to cut inflation (now at the horrendous level of 35-40% a year) and to increase the efficiency of the use of funds by means of the budget. Austerity in running the schools is needed in "the struggle for physical and economic existence." The goal of economic independence has failed, according to Levin, because Israel has tried to maintain a higher standard of living than its economy could support. (Israel's balance of payments has been strikingly in deficit for 28 consecutive years). A decline in the standard of education may therefore be inescapable, especially at the higher education level, where a 40% slash was proposed.

Teacher Strikes

Levin said that Israel is characterized by freedom of the press, freedom to demonstrate, and freedom to strike. Everybody either is on strike today, was on strike yesterday, or will be on strike tomorrow. Teachers also use the strike as a weapon in a period of rapidly rising cost of living. Most strikes are of short duration.

Role of the Knesset in Education

Levin insisted that there are no political pressures on education in Israel. Education legislation is initiated by the Minister of Education and Culture and passed on to the Knesset. Most of the parliamentary action takes place in committee. The Ministries of Labor, Welfare, and Defense are also involved in education.

Arab Education

Arab education was limited in scope and effectiveness at the time of Israel's birth. Under the British, it was neither compulsory nor coeducational. Most of the educated Arabs left the country during the 1948 conflict, so that the first Arab schools in the new State were staffed by 90% unqualified teachers.

Great gains have been made since 1948 in Arab education. Participation rates at all levels have increased, particularly for girls. The proportion of unqualified teachers has been reduced to 40%, but much more needs to be done. The central government pays for the cost of Arab school buildings and facilities while local communities pay for school buildings used by Jewish children. Instruction is in the Arabic language, using textbooks published by the Israeli government. There is minimum interference in Arab education, which includes teaching of the Koran and the encouragement of programs by local communities. Some Arabs attend Jewish schools, particularly in vocational education.

Consequences of Reduced Education Budget

The proposed 40% slash in national support of education would result in the closing of 500 classes at the primary level. At present, 10% of elementary school classes have 40 or more pupils and 40-45% of classes have between 30 and 40 pupils. Most large classes are in established cities with small classes maintained for new settlements. Fewer Israeli pounds will mean an increase in classroom size. Naturally, the teacher unions are opposed to the slash of funds. Levin believes that standards can be maintained by putting less money in building and more in programs.

It will be necessary to set a moratorium in higher education. Moreover, reforms in matriculation exams and pre-primary education must be suspended. The extension of free and compulsory education from the 9th to the 10th grades is indefinitely postponed.

Closing the Social Gap

Levin showed much concern about the discrepancy in education achievement of Oriental Jews and of European Jews, which acts as a bar to social mobility. He said that 80% of "achievers" are European and 80% of "underachievers" are Oriental. Problems in educating Oriental Jews are created by resistance to coeducation, religious orthodoxy, and standards of sanitation. Attempts to improve the educational performance of Oriental Jews include school integration and even busing on the American model. Results have been disappointing despite the impressions of improvement by admitting less qualified Sephardic Jews to the universities.

Legislation has been proposed to lengthen the school day for Sephardic Jews. Levin opposes this innovation, because no educational advantage can result if schools are not ready to implement it.

Occasion:	Visit to the Denmark Comprehensive School, Jerusalem
Date:	February 25, 1976
Contact:	Mrs. Hedva Ish-Shalom, Principal
ESS Reporter:	Joyce Stern

A small group visited the Denmark Comprehensive School which was built five years ago to address the social gap by promoting the integration of students, in grades 7 to 12, from a range of social and economic levels. It is built in the Katamon neighborhood on the site of what used to be an immigrant camp. But it is adjacent to a neighborhood populated by highly educated professionals in government, medicine and the Hebrew University. The school draws students from elementary schools in both neighborhoods. There is no busing; students walk to the school.

Hedva Ish-Shalom, dynamic and vivacious principal, received us in her office and sketched in the background of the social problem in Israel. She described how the country had initially received the waves of Sephardic immigrants in the 50s and had "naively" expected them to acquire the same values as the early settlers and founding community held. Now the Sephardic group comprised half of Israel's population, including a second and third generation of low educational attainment and school dropouts. Everyone in

Israel, she said, is deeply concerned with the problem, as could be seen by the provisions made by the Knesset to support compensatory education although the budget was being cut for most other services.

On the other hand, Mrs. Ish-Shalom cited two instances when parents resisted having their children sent to the Denmark school and took their cases to the Israel Supreme Court. In the first instance, regarding compulsory attendance at the junior high level, the parents charged that requiring their children to attend the school was an infringement of their civil rights. Significantly, the Court denied the claim on the grounds that without the attendance of the plaintiffs, the national goal of integration would be harmed. The second instance concerned high school attendance, which is not compulsory--parents apply for their children to attend. Some parents located near the Denmark school applied to the Hebrew University High School, which is also nearby. When the children were denied admittance for lack of space, the parents sued the Ministry of Education for the opening of additional spaces at the private high school. Again the decision went against the parents. The judges ruled that while the children's parents were free to apply anywhere for high school, the State has no obligation to subsidize private programs to create room for them. In effect, the children had to attend the Denmark school.

Cut from Jerusalem's pink and gold limestone, like most of the city's buildings, the school sits unobtrusively on the side of a low hill southwest of the Old City. The absence of graffiti or vandalism suggests a pride on the part of students. This impression was reinforced during our brief walk through the school. The guide provided by Mrs. Ish-Shalom was an Ashkenazi student, although we were soon joined by a friend of his who was Sephardic. Both students demonstrated not only an acute awareness of the social problem, but a deep, personal commitment to seeing that the Denmark school succeeded in promoting integration. They felt that without the establishment of the school on the boundary of the two neighborhoods their paths would never have crossed. Although adjacent, their worlds were far apart. The students claimed that their friendship was not unique, that there were many such friendships at the school between Sephardim and Ashkenazim.

Despite their encouraging testimony, it is evident even to casual observers that social integration is a goal yet to be attained. The school is tracked for academic and vocational pursuits. Most Ashkenazim are in the academic track whereas the Sephardim take vocational training.

Opportunities to meet seem quite limited, therefore, since it is as though two schools coexist under one roof. The two groups which Denmark intended to integrate simply resegregate themselves into these two schools.

This judgment may be too harsh. Perhaps the existence of that "one roof" is a significant step toward integration. It is at least serving to bring the groups in closer proximity. In the microcosm of the school, that proximity together with imaginative leadership is evidently defusing hostilities, promoting friendships and, most significantly for the country's health and survival, instilling a commitment in the youth to unite "the two Israels."

The school built to promote this goal has been appropriately named. The large plaque in the entrance foyer reads:

> "The Denmark school is an expression of the profound honor and respect of the people of Israel and the American Jewish Community for the people of Denmark who performed an unforgettable act of brotherhood and nobility by rising as one to rescue their fellow citizens of the Jewish faith from threatened extinction in October, 1943."

Occasion:	Meeting with Dr. Chanan Rapaport, Director, Henrietta Szold Institute, National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, Jerusalem
Date:	February 25, 1976
Contact:	Dr. Rapaport
ESS Reporter:	Bert Mogin

The Institute was established in 1941 by Henrietta Szold to plan programs for Israeli children and youth based on study and research. Although the Institute maintains independence with regard to its work, its Board of Directors includes the Ministers of Education, Health and Welfare. The Institute selects its projects and reports the results of its work candidly and objectively. A Scientific Advisory Board is composed of approximately 20 distinguished social scientists and educators drawn from around the world, but mostly from the United States. The Institute has a staff of 40; 32 professional and 8 support members. In 1975, it had a budget of 3½ million Israeli pounds. One third of the budget was provided by the government, one third by the Jewish Agency and one third came from contract work.

The Institute's projects cover a wide range of social planning activities, experiments, studies, research and surveys in the fields of welfare and community work, education, mental health, and labor and economics. It concentrates heavily on innovative educational experiments of all kinds since, after Defense, education in the broad sense is the major national concern. Both the system of compensatory education, which is designed to provide equality of educational opportunity for the disadvantaged, and the system of early childhood education (starting at age 3) were based on experimental studies by the Institute. The Institute's studies are broadly designed to provide objective information and options for government decision makers.

Other activities of the Institute include: periodic analysis of national goals, the development and maintenance of a national social data bank, the conduct of seminars to train policy makers in asking proper research questions, the establishment of a center for parent education and a world survey of education activities (published in English).

Dr. Rapaport claimed the Institute was very influential in government decisionmaking, citing several examples. However, when a question about the Institute's influence was asked later, officials of the Ministry of Education and Culture implied otherwise; some of the research studies were useful, but many were considered "impractical."

Occasion:	Visit to the School of Education, Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem
Date:	February 25, 1976
Contacts:	Chaim Adler, Director, Research Institute for Innovation in Education, and Avraham Minkovich and Jane Cohen, School of Education.
ESS Reporter:	Morton Bachrach

The primary effort of the School of Education is a three-year program leading to a B.A. degree for secondary school teachers. There is also a one-year program. Approximately 1,000 prospective teachers are in training. In the graduate school, there are 300 students pursuing an M.A. degree and 40 pursuing a doctoral degree. The teaching staff comprises 100, some of whome are part-time. The latter are divided between those who hold dual appointments and those who hold additional outside jobs.

The primary discussion, and the bulk of the questions, were directed to the work of the Institute which is a part of the School of Education and which is funded largely by the National Council of Jewish Women, U.S.A. The Institute is seven years old and concentrates on research on the problems of the disadvantaged. Its annual budget is $150,000 and it works very closely with the Ministry of Education and Culture. Professor Adler emphasized that the Institute is not satisfied in preparing research papers to be filed away. Rather, it wants to provide training programs aimed at reality, based upon research and designed to improve the lot of the disadvantaged.

In answer to a number of questions from the ESS group, Professor Adler stated that about one-half of all immigrants are from Oriental countries. He talked about the problems of those of Oriental background, who are considered to be the disadvantaged Jewish component. He said that last year only 8% of these students passed matriculation examinations as compared with 32% of those of Western background. (Graduating high school students must pass matriculation examinations in order to qualify for admission to a university). He also talked about Israel's need for trained manpower in light of her efforts to become an industrialized nation.

Professor Adler indicated that there are about 300,000 Israeli Arab students and that there is a definite trend toward improvement in their education. Schooling has increased from six years to nine; Arab girls now go to school whereas few did so formerly; and a growing number of Arabs go through high school and on to the universities.

He admitted that it is difficult for an Arab to obtain a top job in the government. Arabs are in a cleavage situation, caught between the Israeli Jews and their enemies, the non-Israeli Arabs. Jews live by the Jewish rhythm, Bible and Hebrew language and culture. Israel does not want to impose its way upon the Arabs and Professor Adler thinks, therefore, that integration between Jews and Arabs is not essential. Another difficulty results from the fact that many of the upper-class, educated Arabs fled in 1948, thus depriving the Arabs of much of their natural leadership.

Professor Minkovich fielded a question about Moroccan Jews having more difficulty in becoming assimilated than Yemenite Jews. He explained that the Yemenites had come to Israel earlier than the Moroccans and were now second-generation Israelis, a fact that could explain why Yemenite students might be ahead of Moroccan students. Professor Adler added that the conditions under which the two groups had come to Israel were different, and that the Moroccans had higher expectations, which were not fully realized.

In answer to another question, Professor Minkovich said that the Arab schools probably have more autonomy than the Jewish schools. He said that the allocation of resources to Arab schools is a complex matter. All schools receive a certain allocation, which covers essential requirements. The municipalities and the parents must supplement the basic allocation only if they desire certain extras. He added that poor schools receive an additional subsidy.

In response to another question, Professor Adler attempted to distinguish the work of his Institute from that of the Henrietta Szold Institute. The latter works more closely with the Ministry of Education and Culture and, he said, should there be a conflict between efforts of the two institutes, he would recommend that the Szold Institute be the one to undertake the particular study.

With regard to the Arab situation, Professor Adler reminded us that security matters must always be taken into account. He reiterated that Israel is a Jewish state and that the people intend to keep it so. If peace ever comes, Arab-Jewish problems will likely diminish.

Professor Adler mentioned the fact that, although the Israeli Arab population is only about 15% of the total, about one of three children in Israeli schools is Arab, since the Arabs have larger families. He indicated that it would be very taxing to the Israeli economy if the administered territories were annexed because of the large number of Arab children who would enter Israel's school system. He added that the Arabs in Israel are under great pressure from international terrorist organizations not to integrate into Israeli institutions.

In response to a question about "long day" schools, Mr. Minkovich stated that 60% of schools serving disadvantaged children now have an extended school day, but that there is insufficient manpower available to extend the "long day" schools concept in general.

In response to a final question concerning the disadvantaged and religious versus secular schools, he stated that one-third of the students attend religious schools and two-thirds secular schools. Among the disadvantaged children, 70% attend religious schools. (This suggests that the religious schools are heavily populated with students from the Oriental countries). He added that a better scientific education is available from the secular schools, whereas the religious schools concentrate on reading and communicating, based upon the study of the Bible, of course.

Occasion: Meeting with Hon. Elad Peled, Director-General, Ministry of Education and Culture
Date: February 25, 1976
Contact: Mr. Peled
ESS Reporter: W. Phillips Rockefeller

Mr. Peled's introductory remarks stressed the small size of Israel as a nation (population 3.5 million) and its multiplicity of ethnic and religious communities among which the Jewish population of roughly 3 million predominates. Referring to the non-Jews, he distinguished Moslem from Christian Arabs, and alluded to a "respected" small Druze minority. Comparing the size of Israel to New Jersey, he told us to beware of the temptation to draw other comparisons to the United States when speaking of educational problems in Israel: "If U.S. and Israeli problems seem similar, the scale is not; the quality of the problem differs."

Mr. Peled reviewed the statutory and historical role of the government and the Ministry of Education, and the relationship of the Ministry to Parliament and to the school. He also discussed the matter of tuition costs; the problem of language training; the development of curriculum; the role of the Defense Ministry in education; current efforts to reform the schools; leisure time; research and evaluation; and, finally, concluded by outlining four major issues which, in his view, adversely affect the environment of educational efforts in Israel.

Highlights of Mr. Peled's remarks included:

1. Role of Government and Ministry

Israel's national government is responsible not only for foreign policy and defense, but for education as well. Centralism "carries achievement and failures."

The legal framework derives from just a few laws. For 30 years during the British Mandate only the Jewish community had an autonomous system of education--led by Jews and managed by the National Council of Jews in Israel. In 1948, after independence, the system simply continued. The Arabs, in contrast, depended entirely on British government personnel for their education system. This helps to explain the educational gap in development, historically, which we are trying to bridge.

One of the laws provides government authority to manage education and makes education compulsory for children aged five to sixteen. In addition, 80% of children aged three to four attend kindergarten, though it is not compulsory. This percentage is perhaps the highest in the world for this age group.

A second law deals with the organization and structure of education. He observed that it is difficult to separate religion and state in Israel. Also, there were three or four separate systems of Jewish schools, which Ben-Gurion moved to consolidate, leaving two systems--a State religious school system and a State non-religious school system. Government became, for these historical reasons, directly responsible for K-five years, and all primary education to sixth grade or, where there existed a junior high, eighth grade.

2. Relation of Ministry to Parliament (Knesset)

The Minister of Education is responsible to the Cabinet and Pariliament for both sub-systems. "In my role I am head of the State management group for both," Mr. Peled said.

3. Relation of Ministry to the Schools

Teachers of primary grades are State employees; at the secondary level there are some State-employed teachers, but most are employed instead by the school district, municipality, or by the ORT network.

The Ministry has responsibility for teacher training; curriculum development and final examination; supervision and direction of non-State systems; and for financing education, including 85% of non-State school budgets.

"We thus," Mr. Peled said, "have a certain weight of influence in things done and not done. Thus, under the laws and following established practice, the Ministry is influential in, I would call it, dictating curriculum and methods of training. We encourage and promote innovation, flexibility and creativity. We are not yet going downslope in innovations."

Education is free from ages 5-15; the Ministry wishes to extend free-from-fee education to additional years. Currently, however, below 5 or above 15, parents pay a fee, which is relatively not low. It ranges from 3,000 Israeli pounds to zero for those unable to pay; 60% of children are admitted without fee, after considering factors such as family income, family size or parents' service in the armed forces. Less than 20% pay 80-100% of the fee.

4. Language Problems

Lack of knowledge of Hebrew is a serious problem, since so many children come from families where Hebrew is not the mother language. Perhaps half of the families in Israel speak it as a broken language, but communicate mainly in another tongue. Of the other half, many speak it poorly (from the street, not the school).

"In regard to teaching," Mr. Peled said, "one may ask whether we have found the 'right' way to teach children a foreign language. But language absorption is relatively basic, and normal people should be able to do so in a normal way. English is a special problem for Israeli children. Arabic is another--the language one talks is not what one reads. So, should we teach the spoken or formal language? By contrast, in Hebrew, if you speak correctly it is the same as the language you read."

5. Curriculum Development and Dissemination

"We are very proud," Mr. Peled told us, "that Israel has become a good example of curriculum development in the modern world." Eight or nine years ago, the Ministry sent staff to the University of Chicago, where they met with Benjamin Bloom; then they returned to establish a center for curriculum development. Many books now in use here are the product of it and other centers. The Ministry cooperates closely with universities; currently they are working on a renewal of the junior high curriculum.

"Soon we will complete primary and secondary education materials," Mr. Peled said. "Dissemination is far more difficult than the writing of books. We knew at the start we would need teacher training, advice and guidance to implement new materials. So now we have teachers' courses."

6. Role of Defense Ministry in Education

There are two answers to this inquiry, one technical, one not. Defense has pre-military, para-military schools, where boys 16 years old study vocational technical education. Defense operates some of the best schools in the nation--the largest and best enrolls 2,000 boys. It is an Air Force technical school.

Basic education courses are offered in the Army--as one gets a second chance at primary and, sometimes, even secondary education.

As for the non-technical answer: "The Army," he said, "including all services, is an educational experience--because of our struggle for survival, and the integration of all layers of life in the Army. It is a very important agent of education, even including civic education."

7. Reform Efforts

Historically, Israel has had an eight-year/four-year primary/secondary school configuration. It seems to us that this structure does not cope with today's democratization of education. Two or three public committees have looked at the matter of structure. Parliament voted to change from 8-4 to 6/6 or 6-3-3, and to add two years to secondary education by reducing primary by two years. The federation of teachers which Shalom Levin represents was opposed to this for many reasons; and it is true his union is still unhappy--a "war of attrition" goes on even today. Thus, the reform goes slowly.

Incident to this restructuring, half the teachers of grades 7-8 received training which they had not had before, and a new curriculum. We have raised the academic level and enriched teacher training in this manner.

A second area of reform is in social integration. As in the United States, neighborhoods are more or less homogeneous. The school is reflective of this social and cultural pattern. We have used zoning of districts to achieve integration across neighborhoods. But the integration of schools is not so clearly successful as the retraining of teachers just described. Most immigrants to Israel went to new towns, such as Kiryat Shmonah, which consists of 85 to 90% new immigrants. Integration there is not significant; it works only where possible.

8. Leisure Time

"True, it is secondary in importance. We work six days a week; there is extensive military service, both active and reserve. Assorted civic duties on top of all this leave little leisure time. But more and more recently, we deal with leisure time; about 50-60 community centers provide for a positive way to spend time. I am optimistic that this will not be a problem area, with plans we now have, as social conditions become normal."

9. Research and Evaluation

The Ministry, as stated, closely cooperates with the academic community. However, many studies appear to be too academic. Some studies only lead to others. One of particular interest deals with parent involvement and affects more than 1,000 families. It has some United States support.

Major Issues

1. Financing. "This presents a very serious situation for our nation. Israel spends more than 30% of GNP on Defense--more than any other nation. Israel can't afford it. In the last two years, education as a percentage of the total national budget is declining. Without money, we can do nothing.
2. Social. "The social structure of Israel is trying to absorb immigrants from more than 70 nations, speaking over 100 languages, ranging from the highly-educated to the illiterate, and coming from culturally deprived states as well as from space age cultures and even including immigrants marked by the counterculture of the United States. Obviously, this complicates our educational problems...
3. Moral. "Israel shares in the problems of many Western societies, namely, the breakdown of norms of old society, without an offsetting new pattern of other norms. Some of us are materialists and it is destructive of social cohesion when such a teacher has to transmit moral values. Next door or next street, it is considered hypocrisy.
4. Security. This concern heavily impacts education in terms of a manpower drain. "All our problems grow out of it in one way or another."

Occasion:	Visit to Comprehensive High School "D" (Dalet), Beersheba
Date:	February 26, 1976
Contacts:	Zion Soreq, Principal, and faculty members and students
ESS Reporter:	Michael H. Annison

The city of Beersheba is the capital of the Negev, a city that has developed entirely since the establishment of Israel, since not a single inhabitant remained when the Israelis entered the town in 1948.

Beersheba is the home of Israel's newest university, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, which was developed to stimulate economic and social development in the Negev area. Similarly, investment in high schools in Beersheba has been strengthened to build the southern part of the country.

The population of the school we visited is drawn from the children of immigrants and in 1976 the majority of the children are sabras--Israeli by birth.

The School

Comprehensive High School "D" (Dalet) offers general and technical majors and a full academic program. The academic program serves students in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. Courses in literature, Bible, history, and engineerings are given in a homeroom system. In addition, students may specialize in several areas, including mathematics, the sciences, and others. The final component of the program is a series of electives in the various arts. The vocational program is organized around four major units: mechanical studies; clerical studies; nursery school assistants; and electronics.

Since the school is a new one, the plant is well-equipped compared to the other schools in older, more developed areas of Israel. Courses are offered in laboratories for typing, computer studies, electronics, machine tooling and drafting. In the academic area there are laboratories for physics, chemistry, biology and homemaking. Each of these laboratories are quite similar to what an observer would find in the more affluent American classrooms.

The school serves 1,000 students and has a staff of 120 teachers, some of whom work on a part-time basis.

Discussion and Observations

One of the staff members stated that education was the most important function of the Israeli society, again bearing out a frequent observation in our discussions with political, military and economic leaders. All believe that the key to Israel's success, economically and militarily, lies in its being able to develop a technologically sophisticated society and to train the people necessary to maintain and benefit from such a system.

The central issues addressed by the staff focused on the need to answer the problems and issues which face a contemporary society. The focus of the school was to try and identify the demands of the pupils in the future and the issues which needed to be addressed, including whether or not the school was answering social questions of integration, both socially and intellectually, and developing sound human relationships among the pupils and between the pupils and the teachers. A staff member did note that there were a number of difficulties still present and the observer has the impression that this is correct.

Children of immigrants from Western Europe and American continents tend to be in academic programs, while children of Eastern European immigrants tend to be in technical areas. This unfortunate separation is reinforced by the nature of the physical plant, which has each of the two major programs--academic and technical--housed in different buildings, making it more difficult to provide the opportunities for interaction which would presumably facilitate the integration which the staff saw as a major issue.

On balance, the Israeli secondary school system is increasingly modeled after American educational practices. Standards in 1976 show that this transition is almost complete and the result has been that the previous effects of British education practices are less visible.

Occasion:	Meeting with Dr. Eliezer D. Jaffe, Senior Lecturer, School of Social Work, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, on Social Problems in Israel.
Date:	February 29, 1976
Contact:	Dr. Jaffe
ESS Reporter:	Barry E. Stern

Professor Jaffe cited a number of social problems which have penetrated Israeli consciousness in the last few years. Among these are (1) discrimination against Oriental Jews; (2) Drug abuse; (3) Inefficiency and bureaucratic overlapping in the income maintenance area; (4) Teenage non-students who are unemployed; and (5) Juvenile prostitution.

First and foremost among these is the problem of the social gap between the Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews. This problem was documented recently in the well-known "Katz Report," which was the first Knesset-mandated study on the social health of the nation. (The report is available in English through the Szold Institute). The study was commissioned after a series of demonstrations by the "Black Panthers," a militant group of Sephardic Jews. The report attempted to document the extent of discrimination in many areas, including education, housing and income maintenance programs, as well as to discover whether or not the gap was increasing.

Jaffe cited the extent of inequality in education. He said that 54% of elementary school completers are of Sephardic background, as are 38% of high school graduates, 12% of the college graduates, 4% of the master's degree recipients and 2% of the doctoral degree recipients. Using admission rates at Hebrew University for the School of Social Work as another example of inequality in education, Jaffe said that only 14% of matriculated students were Oriental Jews, compared to 74% Ashkenazi. He did not know the statistics disaggregated by sex.

The new Rabin government has proceeded cautiously with the Katz report. An inter-ministerial committee has been established to implement some of the suggested reforms and to assure that bureaucratic overlapping and jealousies do not interfere with progress in achieving the goal of greater equality.

Income maintenance programs were cited as the main example of inter-agency "turf" problems. These programs are sponsored variously by the Ministries of Education, Labor, Health, Housing, Social Welfare, and Defense. The Katz Report recommended some consolidation of these agencies without recommending how this was to be accomplished. This is a particularly controversial and delicate issue in Israel because of the coalition of parties which form the government. If a coalition member is asked to acquiesce to the abolition of its ministry, it generally will expect significant concessions from the majority party (Labor) in terms of national policy. Interestingly enough, the power of a ministry can increase tremendously in a coalition government where the ministries are divided among the members. An example of this is the Ministry of Welfare, which assumed much more importance when a non-majority party took control over it.

The Israeli government is taking steps to reduce the social gap between the Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews. The latter are given financial assistance to increase their educational opportunities at the high school and university level, and some primary schoolers of Oriental origin benefit from a school day that is longer than that for other children. Efforts are being made to distribute housing more equitably: a higher percentage of new units, for example, are being allocated to "old time immigrants," i.e., immigrants who first got substandard housing and who now require something bigger and better. Better housing for these people, however, is not being accomplished at the expense of new immigrants. Rather, the total supply is being enlarged.

Another problem of concern is the number of teenage unemployed who are not in school, as well as those who are in school but are doing poorly. Jaffe estimates that there are 40,000 such youngsters 12 to 18 years of age in Israel--20,000 who are out of school and out of work, and 20,000 who are doing very poorly in their studies. Until recently the Army had rejected these youngsters, making their future employability problematic. The Katz report recommended that the Army draft these youngsters, and this has begun to occur. Special programs through the Defense Ministry, such as the one we visited at Camp Jules, now attempt to help these youngsters.

Further evidence of ambivalence about what to do about the social gap between Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews is seen in the controversies about the school lunch program and the family size-population problem. At issue in the school lunch program is whether or not lunch should be provided to all primary school children or just to those children who are the most needy. In the past, the pattern has been to provide universal services with ad hoc attention paid to special need groups. Because of Israel's financial problems, many officials now want to focus the program on the needy (the "residual services approach"). Others say this approach stigmatizes the recipients. The Ministry of Labor has suggested that it contribute funds to the program in order to universalize it. Considerable disagreement persists over whether this is the most propitious use of such funds.

No clear-cut policy is evident with respect to family size. Some policies, like the difficulties presented in obtaining abortions and family planning services, are incentives for larger families, while other policies, such as the lack of special housing benefits for large families, serve to discourage large families. Jaffe called this schizophrenic situation very dangerous, and said that the government should make up its mind. To put the matter in perspective, fully 50% of Israeli soldiers come from families having four or more children. There are 110,000 such families in Israel.

Responding to a question about the extent of the drug abuse problem, Jaffe felt that the government estimate of 100,000 drug abusers is low. Only 10-15% of these are thought to be using such "hard" drugs as heroin and barbituates. The use of hashish, though, is affecting a much larger population, and the number of users appears to be increasing.

The drug problem emerged after the Six-Day War, when hashish, in particular, became more accessible through the administered Arab territories. Now pushers are getting into the high schools. That the country was totally unprepared for a drug problem is suggested by the fact that Jerusalem has only 10 hospital beds for hard drug users (addicts).

It was suggested by some members of the ESS group that Israel might regret eventually its view of the use of hashish, marijuana, and heroin in isolation from other harmful substances used extensively by the Israeli population, namely tobacco and overuse of non-prescription drugs. It was noted that Israelis take more pills per capita than any other country in the world, and that this conditioning of the young is likely to exacerbate the problem.

Professor Jaffe closed on a hopeful note--that the country was gearing up to meet these problems, including in its efforts an accelerated rate of preparation of competent social workers.

Occasion: Visit to the Central Statistical Office, Jerusalem
Date: February 29, 1976
Contact: Uri Avner, Director of the Social Division
ESS Reporter: William Dorfman

Over-all Statistics Program

In keeping with the highly centralized nature of Israeli government, this office combines functions comparable to those of the Bureau of the Census, National Center for Education Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and other statistical agencies of the United States. Since the United States has provided assistance in setting up the Office, it is not surprising that much in the Israeli statistical programs is similar in scope, concept and methodology to that in U.S. programs. As the United States, Israel's confidentiality standards prevent disclosure of responses for any individual. Unlike the situation in the United States, response is mandatory for all surveys.

The Central Statistical Office conducts all nation-wide household surveys requested by governmental ministries, by university research units, and by such quasi-official organizations as the Henrietta Szold National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences. Scheduled surveys include a more or less decennial Census of Population and Housing (cf. the U.S. equivalent), a periodic Census of Industry and Crafts (cf.the U.S. Economic Census), a periodic Census of Agriculture (cf. the U.S. equivalent), a Survey of Family Expenditures (cf. the U.S. equivalent), and a quarterly Labor Force and Income Survey (cf. the U.S. monthly Current Population Survey). In addition, administrative data obtained from ministries is processed and analyzed.

Education Statistics Program

The Social Division is responsible for the analysis and dissemination of education statistics, much of which is based on computer tapes from the Ministry of Education and Culture. Other statistical responsibilities of the Division cover the areas of leisure, mass communication media, crime, and scientific research. A National Registry of Information on Students provides an opportunity for analysis of enrollees in the universities of Israel which cannot be matched by the United States.

The choice and structure of Israeli education statistics reflect policy considerations. For example, data on enrollment and attainment are broken out by continent of birth and, where appropriate, by date of immigration; Arab and Jewish comparisons are widespread; emphasis is placed on literacy and language spoken; measures of performance are provided by success in the matriculation examinations, by age/grade relationships, by teacher accreditation; time series are carried from 1948 to the present to gauge progress from the birth of Israel; religion is a major dimension of analysis. A curious omission is the concept of current expenditure per pupil by community or school.

Significant Findings

Statistical support is provided for several noteworthy characteristics of Israeli education:

Meteoric growth--Since 1948 the number of Jewish elementary pupils has increased 5-fold, the number of secondary pupils 16-fold and the number of postsecondary students 40-fold. The increase is even greater for Arabs, since they started from such a low base.

Large scale pre-primary education--83% of three-year-olds, 90% of four-year olds and 96% of five-year-olds participate in some form of pre-primary education.

Inadequate secondary school participation--20% of all youth aged 14-17 neither work nor go to school.

Improved quality of schooling--In 1951, 48% of all Jewish fifth grade pupils were above the normal age for their grade; by 1972 the percent was down to 13%. In 1948, there were no schools for handicapped children; in 1973 there were 168. Pupil-teacher ratios dropped from 31 in 1959 to 26 in 1973. In 1948-49, 802 youths passed their matriculation examination; in 1973-74 the number had increased to 12,500. In 1948-49, only 193 university degrees were granted; by 1973-74 the number had increased to 8,900.

Occasion:	Farewell dinner at Hotel Moriah
Date:	February 29, 1976
Contact:	Eliezer Shmueli, Deputy Director-General, Ministry of Education and Culture
ESS Reporter:	Morton W. Bachrach

The culmination of the ESS visit to Israel was the farewell dinner at which our guest was Eliezer Shmueli who has since become the Director-General of the Ministry. This report does not attempt to reproduce the dialogue verbatim; rather, it attempts to capture the gist of the questions and responses.

Question: Are monies from the Government and other funds which are used to support education commingled?

Answer: Financing of elementary and secondary education is a multifaceted arrangement. Support comes from the Histadrut (the General Federation of Labor), ORT, women's groups, etc. The Ministry of Education must balance needs and channel funds properly. It funnels 35-50 million Israel pounds annually into the school system. The problems involved in allocating monies from the various funding sources can be managed if enough money comes in. As an example of mixed funding, he cited

Hadassah Ne'urim Youth Village (which we had visited on February 19), which is supported in part by the Ministry of Education.

Q: Do you foresee extending free education beyond the ninth grade during the next decade?

A: Free education would be extended to the tenth grade by 1982 but he did not foresee extending free education beyond that. He believes that that is enough and compared the situation in Israel with that in England and Holland. He added that 60% of high school students now receive free education and that another 20% receive some financial help, depending upon need.

Q: Is there any difference in payment to Jewish and Arab schools?

A: No. The Ministry allocates an average I.L. 650 per capita. The idea is to spend more on the needy than on the non-needy. Some students receive as little as I.L. 300.

Q: What aspect of education does the Ministry pay for?

A: It is up to the individual communities to decide where the government monies will be utilized. A community may supplement the government allocation to the extent it wishes, depending upon its own desires and priorities.

Q: What is the role of educational TV in Israel?

A: Educational TV provides seven hours of instruction per day in three languages: Hebrew, English and Arabic. A special effort is being made to make TV an effective instructional tool. The effort is supplemented by special tutors who visit the schools. He is proud of its accomplishment and stated that educational TV is playing a leading instructional role in the country. He mentioned a prize awarded in Tokyo last year for programming and one won in Stockholm for foreign language teaching. The original educational TV concept was to aid the disadvantaged. However, ETV tends to better serve the middle and upper classes. He wants to take steps to change that situation. He gave credit to the Americans for starting ETV in Israel and expressed his gratitude for that help.

Q: Do you foresee use of the education system to assimilate ethnic minorities?

A: He answered the question in terms of the Druzes. He said that some Druzes go to Jewish schools. However, most do not want to be assimilated. Ethnic elements can be integrated but he does not want them to lose their own cultures. The situation in Israel is different from that in the United States. Jews are sensitive to desires of ethnic minorities because Jews know what it is to be a minority. He added that in Israel there is no difference between religion and state.

Q: Isn't there a busing program in the Jerusalem area?

A: He first warned that use of American expressions in connection with Israeli situations was dangerous. He said there was an effort to integrate in Jerusalem, with some children bused from neighboring areas to a school in order to integrate advantaged and disadvantaged Jewish children. He added that there were no race problems in Israel. The country is like the United States was 50 years ago as far as busing is concerned. There are no mental or social blocks against busing. The only busing problem involves bringing kibbutz children to development towns because the kibbutz parents object.

Q: What kinds of things have you learned from the United States which would help education in Israel?

A: He said he would be happy to see in Israel, in the next 30 years, some of the kinds of American schools which he had visited. He mentioned Nova, certain schools in Philadelphia and in Palo Alto, with their experiments in curricula. However, he noted that Israel is a small country, implying that the population base in Israel is too small to support the type of experiments being conducted in the United States. He said that he would like to see Israeli schools do as well as the U.S. schools.

Q: What is the current attitude in Israel with regard to going to a university?

A: In 1950, 10% of high schools students went to vocational schools and 90% to academic schools. In 1976, 60% go to vocational schools and only 40% to academic schools. In the next decade he expects the academic school population to fall to 30%. Few of the 60% who go to vocational schools wish to go to a technical university. He said that universities were becoming more difficult to enter, particularly technical universities. Only 150,000 to 160,000 students of high school age are in the regular schools. Others are in Army schools, Ministry of Labor schools, etc.

Q: Have you set quantitive goals in regard to closing the school gap?

A: The ambition of the State of Israel is that every ethnic element will be represented in schools in proportion to its population. It was originally hoped that this would happen within one generation. He now thinks that it will take several decades.

Q: Has any consideration been given to having Jewish students study Arabic in order to facilitate better communication between Jews and Arabs?

A: He is eager to have schools teach Arabic. Currently, both Hebrew and English are compulsory. There is also one optional language: French or Arabic. Before the Six-Day War most students selected French. Now the trend is toward Arabic. Arabic will soon become compulsory in all elementary schools. The problem is the unavailability of teachers of Arabic. In one Arab village, Jewish teachers are successfully learning provincial (conversational, not literary) Arabic.

Q: Has there been any effort to preserve the cultural division between Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews? What about the education of Christians?

A: There was a failure during the first twenty years of the State of Israel to preserve the identities of the Orientals and the Westerners. There was even an attempt made in the beginning to impose Western culture on the Orientals. However, he said,the trend is changing. Special efforts are being made to recognize the contributions of all ethnic groups. One reason that Western heritage was pushed is that there were no Eastern text books. The problem remains. It is evidenced by "foreign" accents. Orientals try to lose their accents. Is that good or bad? It is a national issue to be discussed. Some groups have been unable to establish a special identity.

There are special schools for Christian Arabs. They will, by philosophy, accept Moslem or even Jewish students. By and large, however, most Moslems go to Moslem schools and most Christians go to Christian schools.

Q: What leads to good citizenship, particularly for minorities?

A: It is a difficult task to persuade the Arabs to become good citizens. Israel is surrounded by 10 Arab TV and radio stations, often spewing forth hate of Israel and Israelis. The question is: Can one be a loyal citizen and also a proud Arab? He said "Yes" and drew an analogy to the Greek-Americans. He expects the Arab citizens to assume that dual role but he recognizes that it is not easy for the Arabs because of the propaganda from Arab countries. The Israeli Arab is brainwashed night and day. "If he can withstand it, he is an angel."

Q: Do the Ashkenazi Israelis have an advantage over the Sephardic Israelis in the job market?

A: The primary desire of the Sephardic father is to assure that his son has an opportunity equal to others. The philosophy of the Sephardim is to equate university education with opportunity. They feel that the more people they have in the universities, the more representatives they will have in government, in the professions and in all walks of life. It may turn out differently but they do not want to take the chance of not being well educated. However, the overall trend is still away from the academic and toward the vocational.

Mr. Shmueli wished the ESS group "bon voyage," as he has to several previous groups, and asked us to invite our colleagues in Washington to visit Israel soon. To him and his associates, we extend a hearty "Todah Rabbah!" (Thank You) for the generous and competent treatment we received in Israel.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS ON ESS STUDY MISSION TO ISRAEL

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DESCRIPTION OF ESS

The Educational Staff Seminar is a professional development program designed for staff members employed by the Executive and Legislative branches of the Federal Government in the field of education. The goals of ESS are to provide an open forum in which participants can improve their professional capabilities and personal fulfillment on the job by:

a) being exposed to new ideas and perspectives;

b) increasing their knowledge of particular subjects and their understanding of how things actually operate in the field, and who is operating them;

c) meeting with other professionals involved in the legislative and policy formulation processes, but in a congenial environment so that personal relationships can be established and enhanced.

ESS provides Washington educational policy-makers with a variety of in-service seminars and personal observations in the field. The focus of these voluntary and supplementary learning experiences is on developing broad perspective and wide exposure to current educational problems. ESS advocates no particular educational policies, nor does it take positions on pending legislative issues.

Stated another way, ESS provides educational experiences to help overcome the problem discussed by John W. Gardner in Self-Renewal:

> "As organizations (and societies) become larger and more complex, the men at the top (whether managers or analysts) depend less and less on firsthand experience, more and more on heavily 'processed' data. Before reaching them, the raw data--what actually goes on 'out there'--have been sampled, screened, condensed, compiled, coded, expressed in statistical form, spun into generalizations and crystallized into recommendations.
>
> "It is characteristic of the information processing system that it systematically filters out certain kinds of data so that these never reach the men who depend on the systems... It filters out all sensory impressions not readily expressed in words and numbers. It filters out emotion, feeling, sentiment, mood and almost all of the irrational nuances of human situations. It filters out those intuitive judgements that are just below the level of consciousness.
>
> "So that the picture of reality that sifts to the top of our great organizations and our society is sometimes a dangerous mismatch with the real world...

> "That is why every top executive and every analyst sitting at the center of a communications network should periodically emerge from his world of abstractions and take a long unflinching look at unprocessed reality."

ESS's goal, therefore, is to enable its participants to be more effective in their professional duties and of greater service to the Congress and the Executive Branch in the development of sound educational policies.

SUMMARY OF ESS ACTIVITIES IN FISCAL YEAR 1975

6 - discussions, workshops, demonstrations
11 - dinner (or luncheon) discussion meetings with speakers
13 - multiple-day field trips, domestic
3 - one-day field trips
1 - overseas study mission (USSR)
7 - Executive Policy Seminars, chaired by the Assistant Secretary of Education
1 - joint program with the Federal Interagency Committee on Education
31 - dinner (or luncheon) discussion meetings with speakers

73 Programs conducted for over 2,100 ESS participants

PARTICIPANTS

ESS participants are varied in their political affiliations and persuasions; they are Republicans, Democrats, and independents. The major criterion for participation in ESS activities is occupational: The individual must perform in a Federal Professional staff role involving the development or implementation of Federal policy in the field of education. Hence, ESS activities typically bring together Federal aides from four areas:

Congressional: Majority and minority counsels and professional staff members of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, the House Committee on Education and Labor, the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations; as well as legislative assistants to Members of the House and Senate who serve on the Congressional education committees. In addition, professional staff of the Congressional Research Service, and the General Accounting Office participate.

Executive Office of the President: Professionals from the Office of Management and Budget (Human Resources Programs Division, Office of Legislative Reference, Office of Program Coordination, Federal Executive Board Secretariat) and special assistants to the President.

Departments: The Secretary and Assistant Secretaries of HEW, Commissioner of Education, Director of the National Institute of Education, Director of the Office of Child Development, Deputy Assistant Secretaries for program planning and evaluation, legislation, budget, research, and intradepartmental educational affairs. In addition, senior program specialists, public information officers, special assistants to bureau chiefs, and division directors.

Agencies: Professional staff members of other Federal education agencies: National Science Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities, Smithsonian Institution.

OPERATIONS

ESS activities generally take the form of either dinner-discussion meetings with prominent personalities in the field of education or site visits to notable educational programs.

Site visits typically consist of 15-25 senior, bipartisan staff members from Congress and the Executive departments whose primary responsibilities are the development and implementation of Federal educational policy. Dinner meetings serve a wider spectrum of educational staff personnel drawn from Capitol Hill and various Federal agencies.

The general format of ESS site visits is as follows:

A. ESS participants obtain the written approval or encouragement of their congressional or agency principals (ESS has been endorsed by Senators and Representatives of both political parties, as well as Executive Branch agency heads.)

B. ESS participants suggest an agenda of critical educational topics (e.g. "preschool," "school finance," "educational technology"). The ESS project staff (in cooperation with outside consultant-experts in the particular topic or locale) then plans the visit to significant educational programs and makes the logistical arrangements. Travelling together, the group spends 1 - 3 days visiting educational sites outside of Washington. Approximately fifteen trips during the course of a calendar year are planned in accordance with the congressional workload and the budgetary cycle. In the field, ESS participants discuss educational operations with persons they would not normally meet in Washington (e.g. classroom teachers, community leaders, state and local administrators, researchers, students, and parents).

SPONSORSHIP AND CONTROL

Educational Staff Seminar was begun in February, 1969 by Dr. Samuel Halperin, formerly Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation in HEW. One of the series of leadership development programs of The Institute for Educational Leadership, George Washington University, ESS is funded by a grant to the Institute from The Ford Foundation and by a contract for partial reimbursement of training expenses from a number of Federal agencies. An evaluation of ESS, conducted by the U. S. Office of Education, is available from ESS. A Steering Committee composed of participants representing executive and legislative branch affiliations gives advice and counsel to the program.

ESS's Director is Sharon Enright, formerly a Washington D.C. high school teacher and education analyst for the Congressional Research Service, Assistant Director

Donna Gold was a program specialist with the Office of Equal Educational Opportunity Programs within the U.S. Office of Education.

Education Policy Fellowship Program (EPFP)

Telephone: 223-3415

Education Policy Fellowship Program (EPFP) (formerly Washington Internships in Education) is a national program designed to help provide future leaders the skills in policymaking they must have to exert effective and enlightened leadership in American education. Funds for the program are provided by the Ford, Rockefeller, and Cleveland Foundations.

Since 1965, the program has placed over 250 mid-career persons in one-year internships in public and private agencies involved in educational policy matters. Carefully recruited sponsors who pay the Fellow's salary serve as on-the-job mentors by demonstrating, through their daily tasks, how educational policy is shaped at the urban, state, or national level. In addition, through weekly meetings, Fellows have the opportunity to interact with authorities in education. National meetings of Fellows with other special groups contribute further to their understanding of educational policymaking. Costs of recruitment, placement, and programs are borne by the EPF Program.

Educational Staff Seminar (ESS)

Telephone: 293-3166

Educational Staff Seminar (ESS) is a professional development program designed for staff members employed by the Executive and Legislative Branches of the federal government in the field of education. It is designed to expose these federal education policymakers to existing programs worth noting around the nation, as well as to innovations, research and emerging ideas in the field. This is accomplished through luncheon and dinner meetings, seminars, and national and international field trips.

Established in 1969, ESS is funded by the institute and by partial reimbursement from the government agencies served. In fiscal year 1975 ESS conducted 73 programs for over 2200 federal employees.

The Associates Program (TAP)

Telephone: 785-4991

The Associates Program (TAP) is an evolving IEL activity. Its emphasis up to now has been to provide seminars for legislators and other policymakers at state capitals. Begun in 1972 with three state educational seminars, TAP now sponsors 22 seminars, all directed by Associates who, on a part-time basis, arrange five to 10 programs annually.

TAP maintains a network of state-level "generalists" (Associates) whose ties to IEL in the nation's capital provide rare linkages among federal and state education policy-setters. TAP encourages similar linkages among agencies and coalitions seeking to improve processes in state-level decisionmaking. It also sponsors national and regional conferences dealing with state-level responsibilities in education.

Postsecondary Education Convening Authority (PECA)

Telephone: 833-2745

Under a grant from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, IEL has established an issue development service for consideration and transmission of key policy issues in postsecondary education. The Postsecondary Education Convening Authority (PECA) sponsors conferences, research efforts, task force groups and publications focusing on such issues as institutional licensing, consumer protection, state financing, and adult learning.

"Options in Education"

Telephone: 785-6462 or 833-9178

IEL and National Public Radio co-produce the "Options in Education" series, heard weekly over most of NPR's 190 member stations from coast to coast. Voice of America rebroadcasts the one-hour programs, and IEL makes cassettes and transcripts available at minimum cost. "Options" has received awards from the Education Writers Association (1974 and 1975) and from the Council for Advancement and Support of Education (1974). Funds for "Options in Education" are provided by IEL, National Institute of Education, Robert S. Clark Foundation, NPR, and other grantors. A list of NPR member stations and a catalog of available cassettes and transcripts are available from IEL.

Career Education Policy Project (CEPP)

Telephone: 833-9051

The Career Education Policy Project (CEPP) airs the issues of education, work and society for educational decisionmakers. Funded by the U.S. Office of Education, CEPP uses the resources of other IEL programs — ESS and TAP — to inform both policymakers and the public of the issues and the potential of the career education movement. It also sponsors Washington Policy Seminars for policy-level career educators.

The Project on Compensatory Education (PCE)

Telephone: 833-9178

The Project on Compensatory Education, responding to continuing state and federal emphasis on equal educational opportunity and the right of each child to an adequate education, is sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education. It will seek to identify the major public policy issues in the governance of compensatory education at the federal, state and local levels.

The project identifies strengths and weaknesses in current compensatory education governance policies, primarily by obtaining information from key policymakers, public officials, educators, as well as parents and others involved in compensatory education in the nation.

Family Impact Seminar (FIS)

Telephone: 296-5330

The Family Impact Seminar seeks to identify and assess the effect on families and children of a variety of public policies. The Seminar and its several task forces are composed of scholars and policymakers. Together, they examine and test the feasibility of developing "family impact statements" on selected government policies and programs. The specific issues to be examined are selected from a broad range of existing or proposed public policies. The policies may include some in such areas as education, health or welfare, which are specifically designed to help families and children. Other areas such as taxation, which are focused primarily on other objectives, but nevertheless affect families and children, also are examined.

Ford Fellows in Educational Journalism

Telephone: 833-1737

The Ford Fellows in Educational Journalism is an intensive, short-term professional development program for educational reporters and journalists. This pioneering effort offers nine Fellows a "sabbatical" from the fast-paced immediacy of daily educational reporting and allows them to pursue a full-time, four-month course of independent study in their designated educational interests areas. The program, which is supported jointly by The Ford Foundation, participating news organizations, and the Institute for Educational Leadership reflects the conviction that better informed media will be a direct and positive influence for better education.